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ABSTRACT

This report examines the Chapter 1 program's impact at school and classroom levels, strategic directions for Chapter 1 reauthorization, the larger context of school poverty as it influences Chapter 1 delivery, the operation and effectiveness of Chapter 1, and new directions for improving Chapter 1 in line with national reforms. How well Chapter 1 responds to Congress's intent in 1988 and adds to the educational progress of disadvantaged students is measured against the six National Education Goals. Part 1 compares high- and low-poverty schools in terms of their students' needs, school service delivery, and school outcomes to establish the context for how Chapter 1 is affected by the degree of school poverty. Part 2 describes current program funding and targeting, student participation and performance, instructional services, schoolwide projects, staff development, family involvement and Even Start, special service arrangements for students in religious schools and migrant children, student assessment and program improvement, and assistance for improved performance. Part 3 describes new policy directions as a framework for reinventing the program. Included are: 53 exhibits; 4 appendixes which contain a list of supplementary volumes to the first report of National Assessment of Chapter 1 Program, a list of studies conducted for the National Assessment, the statute requiring a national assessment of Chapter 1 and a list of independent review panel presenters. (RLC)

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Reinventing Chapter 1: The Current Chapter 1 Program and New Directions

Final Report of the National Assessment of the Chapter 1 Program

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REINVENTING CHAPTER 1:

The Current Chapter 1 Program and New Directions

Final Report of the National Assessment of Chapter 1 Program

U.S. Department of Education
Office of Policy and Planning
Planning and Evaluation Service

February 1993

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Foreword

The "1992 National Assessment of Chapter 1 Act" (P.L. 101-305) mandated two reports on Chapter 1, in preparation for the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. In the summer of 1992, the Department of Education released an interim report of preliminary findings, which describes the effects of the 1988 Hawkins-Stafford Amendments. This final report examines the impact of the Chapter 1 program at the school and classroom levels and suggests strategic directions for the reauthorization of Chapter 1.

The legislation specified that these two reports were to describe and evaluate Chapter 1 local and state efforts to improve educational programs and the extent of program improvement, the status of schoolwide projects, the overall operation and effectiveness of the basic program operated by local education agencies, the extent to which children in private schools participate in Chapter 1, the Even Start program, and the operation and effectiveness of programs for migrant children. Several supplementary volumes on selected topics also will be released as part of the National Assessment of Chapter 1; reference is made to them in the text of this report. In addition, topics of interest not included in the Assessment's legislation, such as the extent of overlap in eligibility between Chapter 1 services and services for learning disabled children, the intergenerational equity of funding in social programs, and the use of technology in Chapter 1, will be explored in a series of commissioned papers.

The National Assessment legislation mandated an Independent Review Panel of "researchers, state practitioners, local practitioners, and other appropriate individuals with a

background in conducting congressionally mandated national assessments of Chapter 1" to serve as consultants in the planning, review, and conduct of the National Assessment. The panel, which held the last of its 10 meetings in October 1992, has reviewed research in progress; advised the Department of Education about other necessary research; and consulted with Department officials, contractors, and practitioners on important topics concerning the status of educationally disadvantaged children and the implementation of the 1988 amendments. In response to suggestions from the panel, the Department of Education initiated several studies that are presented in this final report.

The panel also has met independent of the Department. The panel has produced its own vision of the future of the Chapter 1 program and has recommended ways to achieve that vision. The panel has included these recommendations in its own statement, published separately.

INTRODUCTION

Exhibit 1
Findings from the Interim Report
The Hawkins-Stafford Amendments: Impact and Limitations

In 1988, Congress reauthorized Chapter 1 as part of the Hawkins-Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments and legislated fundamental and innovative reform that moved the program toward performance-based accountability standards and outcomes. Through these amendments, Congress continued to support the use of a large-scale categorical program to meet the needs of educationally disadvantaged children, but also made it clear that the success of compensatory education is measured in the regular academic program.

In light of current national reforms in education, the Hawkins-Stafford provisions for mastery of advanced skills, program improvement, schoolwide projects, and targeting of services were a start but did not go far enough in their implementation:

- Chapter 1 remains a program in which the teaching of basic skills is the norm and instruction in higher-order thinking skills the exception.
- While many states and local school districts were moving toward broad-based reforms, the Chapter 1 program improvement requirements were implemented within the accountability parameters set by norm-referenced testing. Moreover, the program improvement provision did not carry the weight needed to move state and local school personnel toward higher standards.
- The flexibility afforded by schoolwide projects typically has not been used for wholesale reforms. Many principals were unaware of the schoolwide project option, and those who did implement such projects often chose to use the model to address immediate, incremental needs for smaller classes, rather than to reconfigure curriculum and instruction.
- Half of the elementary schools with the lowest concentrations of poverty in America—those in which poor children amount to less than 10 percent of the student body—receive Chapter 1 funds. Student achievement declines as school poverty increases. The average achievement of students in high-poverty schools is about the same as the achievement of Chapter 1 students in low-poverty schools.

Introduction

The question for the future...is how to pass a significant piece of legislation that takes into account all of the necessities that must be considered. How do you sustain it? How do you fund it? How do you keep it on target? And how do you make the inevitable adjustments over time, as either the target changes or the method of your approach to it turns out not to be entirely accurate?

—Douglass Cater, assistant to President Lyndon Johnson, as published in 1986

This report, divided into three major parts, presents the larger context of school poverty as it influences the delivery of Chapter 1, the operation and effectiveness of the Chapter 1 program, and new directions for improving Chapter 1 in line with national reforms. In so doing, the report responds to the 1990 congressional mandate P.L. 101-305, the "1992 National Assessment of Chapter 1 Act," which required an interim report as well (see exhibit 1). Throughout the report, the Chapter 1 program is assessed not only in terms of how well it is responding to Congress's intent in 1988, but also how well it is contributing to the educational progress of disadvantaged students as measured against the six National Education Goals.

The report begins by comparing high- and low-poverty schools in terms of their students' needs, the delivery of school services, and school outcomes in order to establish how the context for Chapter 1 is affected by the degree of school poverty. Research indicates that in schools with high concentrations of poor

children, all students are at risk of academic failure. Clearly, from the evidence provided in Part I, the conditions in high-poverty schools and the performance of students from these schools are much different from those of their more advantaged counterparts.

The next part of the report describes the operations and effectiveness of the current Chapter 1 program. Major components examined include funding and targeting, student participation and performance, instructional services, schoolwide projects, staff development, family involvement and Even Start, special service arrangements for students enrolled in religious schools and migrant children, student assessment and program improvement, and assistance for improved performance.

The final part sets forth new policy directions both within the current categorical structure of the Chapter 1 program and outside the system as it operates today. Some options can be put in place immediately, but most strategies presented require legislative change. The new directions developed in the last part of the report represent a framework for reinventing the Chapter 1 program.

Sources of Information

Since the initial enactment of the 1988 Augustus F. Hawkins–Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments (P.L. 100-297), the Department of Education has undertaken more than 20 major evaluations of various facets of the Chapter 1 program. These major studies are the evaluation and research foundation for information presented to Congress in the interim and final reports of the National Assessment of Chapter 1.

Many of the findings presented in this report are drawn from *broad representative surveys, not only of Chapter 1 schools and* districts, but of the nation's schools and students as a whole. A major source of student outcome, background, and attitudinal information is Prospects, the congressionally mandated, nationally representative longitudinal study of Chapter 1 participants and comparable students in public schools. The Prospects sample includes members of special populations such as limited-English-proficient (LEP) students and students with disabilities. Students are surveyed and tested each year; information is also obtained from teachers, principals, administrators, and parents.

To address the question of the effect of significant participation in Chapter 1 programs on outcomes such as academic achievement, attendance, and promotion rates, Prospects will chronicle the educational progress of disadvantaged children over six years. Data on almost 40,000 students in the first, third, and seventh grades were collected in the 1991 base year. The depth and breadth of information being collected from this study have not been matched since the nationally representative Sustaining Effects Study was undertaken in the mid-1970s.

Other major studies surveyed Chapter 1 principals and district coordinators, Chapter 1 directors in state education agencies, principals of schoolwide projects, migrant program directors, and officials of religiously affiliated schools. Studies on issues related to Chapter 1, including the 1988 Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS) and the 1990 National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS), also have been tapped as information sources. The Department has also undertaken smaller studies and concept papers on issues of interest in Chapter 1. Much of the work for the National Assessment has been influenced by the study's Independent Review Panel, which was mandated in the legislation.

The Context for Chapter 1 Reform

The current reauthorization of Chapter 1 comes at a critical time for education in the United States. In 1990, the president and the nation's governors established National Education Goals for all students and schools to attain by the year 2000. Against these goals, current performance has far to go. The achievement of U.S. students continues to lag behind that of our international competitors; our changing economy demands workers who possess not only a strong back and some basic competence but a firm grasp of complex skills; our high school graduation rates remain stagnant; and the number of children living in poverty and violence is increasing. For these children, mere survival is an accomplishment; achieving educational excellence requires extraordinary effort.

The time is equally critical for Chapter 1, the federal government's largest investment in elementary and secondary schooling. The proportion of Chapter 1 elementary schools with at least
50 percent of students eligible for free or reduced-price lunch doubled between 1985–86 and 1991–92, moving from
25 percent of Chapter 1 elementary schools to 50 percent (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993). Chapter 1 now serves one in every nine school-age children in the United States. Its influence on curriculum and assessment extends beyond the numbers served.

The Chapter 1 program should be a model that adheres to the highest standards for curriculum and instruction, driving the strategies of other education programs, rather than a program that follows outdated methods or lags behind national reforms. The quality of education for disadvantaged students must be improved not only to increase the opportunities for these students but also to benefit our nation as a whole. All Americans have an interest in ensuring that at-risk children succeed, for the

health of our democracy, the strength of our work force, and the overall well-being of our society.

Upholding Democratic Values

Democracy is conditioned on fairness and equal opportunity for all citizens. All children should have access to a challenging curriculum and be held to high standards of performance. The acquisition of knowledge and an ability to analyze problems and to solve them are necessary for responsible citizenship in our diverse modern society. Educated people are more likely to vote, more likely to participate in their communities, and less likely to exhibit antisocial behavior.

> ***The complex problems both of a modern U.S. democracy and of an interdependent world community require complex solutions and a citizenry able to grapple with differing perspectives and novel approaches. Moreover, many analysts link a perceived decline in the quality of human capital in this country, as measured by the relatively poor performance of U.S. students in international achievement assessments, to the nation's lack of economic competitiveness. Sustained economic recovery, they suggest, rests on an entire work force trained to creatively analyze, communicate, and resolve problems in production and service delivery*** **(O'Day & Smith, in press).**

Adapting to a Changing Economy

The changing nature of the global economy has altered the nature of the workplace and, in turn, increased the demand for workers with complex skills. Our economic competitiveness

depends on achieving and maintaining a world-class work force. We are far from that goal. One-third of our population now lacks adequate academic and job-related preparation, and some schools—in urban communities, especially—have an annual dropout rate of up to 50 percent (Marshall & Tucker, 1992).

In the old manufacturing-based economy, people with no more than a high school education were able to earn relatively high wages without possessing complex skills or having to perform complex tasks. But workers in all industries are no longer able to get by doing rote production tasks; instead they must have greater analytical and problem-solving skills. Productivity lies in an educated work force:

> ***These jobs are the backbone of our economy, and the productivity of workers in these jobs will make or break our economic future. No nation has produced a highly qualified technical workforce without first providing its workers with a strong general education. But our children rank at the bottom on most international tests, behind children in Europe and East Asia, even behind children in some newly industrialized countries*** **(National Center on Education and the Economy, 1990, p. 3).**

Disadvantaged students fare even worse than students overall. While the learning gap between students in disadvantaged urban communities and their more advantaged counterparts has been closing, vast differences remain. Although the gap in math performance between students in disadvantaged and advantaged urban communities closed by one-third between 1978 and 1990 (Mullis, Dossey, Owen, & Phillips, 1991), there are some indications from the 1992 assessment that it is widening again. The math achievement of 12th-graders in disadvantaged urban areas is slightly lower than that of 8th-graders in advantaged

communities; 8th-graders in disadvantaged urban communities score at about the same level as 4th-graders in advantaged urban settings (National Center for Education Statistics, 1993). These trends are mirrored in minority performance, shown in exhibit 2 for reading.

Sustaining Society at Large

The overall well-being of our society—enabling people to be self-sufficient and sustaining support for an aging population—depends on our ability to prepare the nation's children for productive adulthood. If future retirees are to receive adequate support from a shrinking future work force, everyone in the work force must be productive.

> ***If recent trends continue, by the end of the century poverty will overtake one in every four children, and the share of children living with single parents will also rise. One in every five births and more than one in three black births in the year 2000 will be to a mother who did not receive cost-effective early prenatal care. One of every five twenty-year-old women will be a mother, and more than four out of five of these young mothers will not be married. And the social security system that all of us count on to support us in our old age will depend on the contributions of fewer children*** **(Edelman, 1992, pp. 84–85).**

Education in general and Chapter 1 in particular have been looked to as the means to provide disadvantaged children with greater opportunity for success. This mission of Chapter 1 is inherent in its legislation to enable disadvantaged children to acquire basic and more advanced skills needed for success in school (see exhibit 3).

Exhibit 2
Trends in Average Reading Proficiency of 9-Year-Olds by Race/Ethnicity, 1971–1990

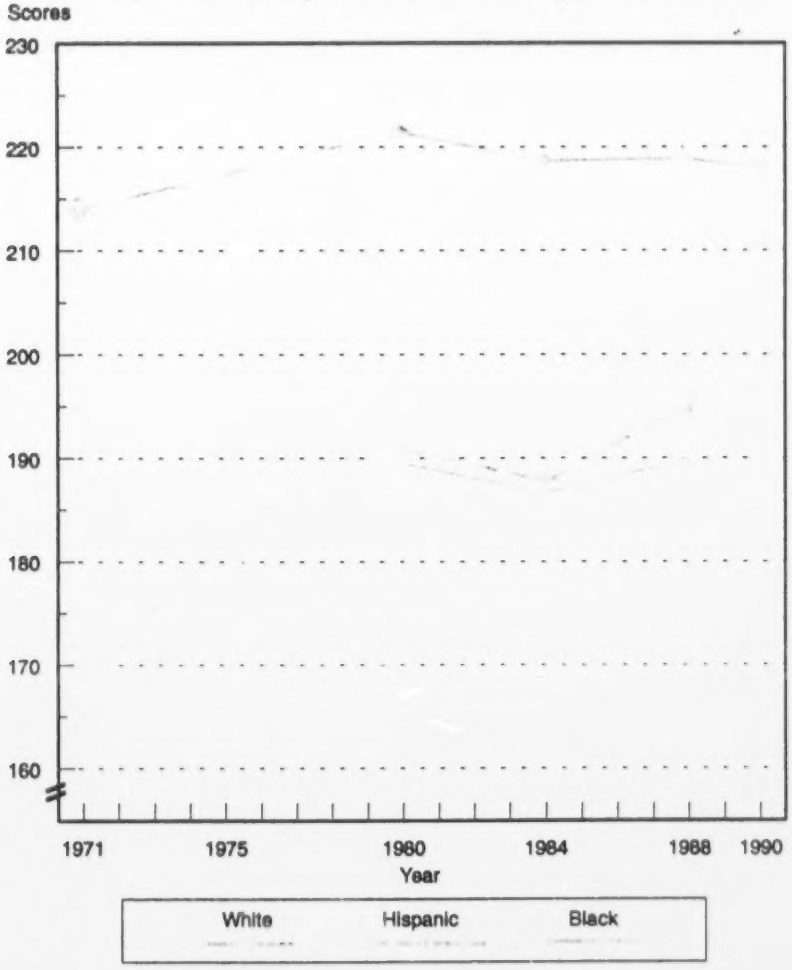


Exhibit reads: During the 1970s minorities made gains in closing the learning gap in reading.

Source: Trends in Academic Progress (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1991b).

Exhibit 3
The Current Chapter 1 Law

The Chapter 1 Formula Grant. The Chapter 1 program has two types of formula subgrants for school districts: Basic Grants and Concentration Grants. Based on child poverty counts at the county level, Basic Grants provide financial assistance for educationally disadvantaged children in nearly every school district in the nation. Concentration Grants augment Basic Grants in school districts with high concentrations of children from low-income families. Schools are identified for participation primarily on the basis of relative poverty in the schools' attendance areas. Chapter 1 services must supplement those already provided by state and local funds.

Student Eligibility for Chapter 1 Services. Individual student eligibility is based on educational performance, typically determined by standardized tests. Services to private school students are available to those students who live in an eligible attendance area and exhibit educational need.

Schoolwide Projects. The authorization of schoolwide projects allows Chapter 1 funds to be used for instructional activities that benefit all children in schools with concentrations of 75 percent or more poor students. Participating schools must remain accountable for meeting the needs of educationally deprived children by assessing student outcomes at the end of the project's third year.

Parental Involvement. The Chapter 1 program mandates the "meaningful involvement of parents," which includes their consultation regarding the planning, design, and implementation of the district's Chapter 1 program and participation in education-related activities.

Participation by Students in Religiously Affiliated Schools. The Supreme Court's ruling in *Aguilar* v. *Felton* precludes Chapter 1 teachers from serving eligible students on the premises of religiously affiliated schools. Most Chapter 1 services are now provided on

(continued)

Exhibit 3 (continued)

religiously neutral sites, including vans, portable classrooms, or public schools.

Desired Outcomes and Program Improvement. A school district must specify desired outcomes for Chapter 1 students, define what constitutes substantial progress toward meeting those outcomes, and establish aggregate performance standards. Schools are identified as in need of improvement through an annual review of progress in terms of overall student progress in basic and more advanced skills, and other desired outcomes. If schools do not show progress, the state Chapter 1 office will intervene along with the district.

Assessment. The effectiveness of Chapter 1 programs must be evaluated on two bases: aggregated student performance on norm-referenced achievement tests and desired outcomes. Assessments are also used to identify eligible students, to learn what educational needs the program should address, to determine the funding levels for participating schools, to identify schools and students in need of improvement, and to report on program effects—in basic and advanced skills—at the national level.

Higher-Order Skills. The Chapter 1 program requires the measurement of student progress in "more advanced skills," which are defined as "skills including reasoning, analysis, problem-solving and decision making as they relate to the particular subjects in which instruction is provided [under Chapter 1 programs]."

The Role of Chapter 1

The Chapter 1 program was born of the need to address economic inequality by improving educational opportunities for the children of poverty. In 1965, when Chapter 1 was enacted as Title I, education was seen as a route out of poverty for a generation of children, and that view continues to prevail today. The federal government's role in this effort has not wavered. Chapter 1 has played an important part in requiring assessment and accountability for the performance of disadvantaged students and in initiating instructional reform.

By focusing on the needs of poor and educationally disadvantaged children through the Chapter 1 legislation, policymakers and educators recognized their responsibility for educating this segment of the population. Basic skills performance increased for disadvantaged children, narrowing the achievement gap between these students and their more advantaged peers. Part of this success must be attributed to Chapter 1. In addition, Chapter 1 recognized the significance of parents as an important element of a successful educational program. Finally, the Hawkins-Stafford Amendments began to move the Chapter 1 program toward concern with the educational quality of the projects it funded.

A New Education Vision and its Implications for Chapter 1

The education community is approaching agreement on a composite vision of a high-quality system. That vision is based on a growing national consensus about the need for far-reaching,

substantial educational reform, which has been called for by the National Education Goals Panel, the National Council on Standards and Testing, the Council of Chief State School Officers, the National Governors' Association, and the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics.

Key features of a future high-quality education system are as follows:

- The overall aim must be to achieve ambitious national standards of what all children, particularly those most at risk for failure, should know and be able to do.

- Frameworks for teaching core subjects must be developed; then high-quality curricula must be developed and implemented in all schools, including those serving the students most at risk for failure.

- The people closest to the classroom should have more authority to make decisions about instructional approaches that can most benefit their students. Flexibility in approach should be granted in exchange for accountability in results.

- In areas of concentrated poverty, education must be linked with other social services so that schooling is reinforced through adequate health care and through efforts to extend learning outside school.

- Teachers and other staff must possess the knowledge and skills to teach subject matter effectively and be specially trained in techniques to help at-risk students make adequate progress over the full range of subject matter. Teaching these skills requires reform of the whole school program for at-risk children; remedial programs cannot compensate for a poor curriculum or for poor instruction.

- Parents must be empowered to assure that schools are continually responsive to their children's needs. When children are not succeeding, parents should have the option of choosing another school. State and local school systems should have the authority to intervene in failing schools.

- Performance-based assessment systems that encompass multiple indicators of performance, including examinations aligned with the curriculum frameworks, must be developed. These systems should be appropriate for assessing special population groups, such as students who have limited proficiency in English or disabilities.

- Support must be provided to help schools build on their strengths and remedy weaknesses identified in assessments and monitoring.

- Adequate resources must be available to enable schools and school systems, regardless of the local tax base, to provide the personnel and material resources necessary to offer a high-quality education program.

The overarching challenge in reforming Chapter 1 is to bridge the gap between the realities of the current education system and the potential benefits of the desired one. Chapter 1, which represents only a small portion of the $274 billion in total spending on elementary and secondary education, must support reform where it is occurring and be a catalyst for reform where change has not yet begun.

The remainder of this report explores the major issues for Chapter 1 within the broader debate of how to achieve the best education system in the world for all U.S. children.

PART I.

THE GAP IN LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES BETWEEN HIGH- AND LOW-POVERTY SCHOOLS

The Gap in Learning Opportunities Between High- and Low-Poverty Schools

- Poor children tend to be concentrated in high-poverty schools (those in which at least 75 percent of students participate in subsidized lunch). Schools in which more than half the students are poor serve about 19 percent of all children but 50 percent of poor children.
- Limited English-proficient (LEP) students are more likely to attend high-poverty schools than are native English-speakers. Almost one-quarter of the fourth-graders in high-poverty schools are LEP, compared with only 2 percent in low-poverty schools.
- Students in high-poverty schools are less likely than their counterparts in low-poverty schools to have teachers who look forward to each working day, believe that their school administration is supportive, or see their colleagues as continually learning and seeking new ideas.
- Students in high-poverty schools are more likely than their counterparts in low-poverty schools to have teachers whose absenteeism is reportedly a problem or whose performance is rated low by the principal.
- In reading and language arts, students in high-poverty schools are exposed to instruction that relies more heavily on textbooks and basal readers and less on literature and trade books.
- First-graders in high-poverty schools start school at a disadvantage, scoring 27 and 32 percentile points lower in reading and math, respectively, than their peers in low-poverty schools. High-poverty schools appear unable to close the initial gap, which increases by grade 4 and again by grade 8.
- By grade 4, about 23 percent of all students in high-poverty schools have been held back one or more times, compared with only 7 percent of students in low-poverty schools.

The Gap in Learning Opportunities Between High- and Low-Poverty Schools

The circumstances of many of their young lives are so poignant, the environment in which they live so traumatic, that the fact that they come to school at all is testament to somebody's belief that education is the way to improve one's life chances.

—Beverly Caffee Glenn, former dean, Howard University, 1992

This part of the National Assessment of the Chapter 1 program compares the characteristics of high- and low-poverty schools. Although the analysis is not limited to Chapter 1 schools, it is immediately relevant to the operations and effectiveness of the Chapter 1 program. The current performance of high-poverty schools is particularly important in illustrating the extent to which Chapter 1 needs radical redirection to leverage whole school change. The current levels of achievement in high-poverty schools are gauged against benchmarks for attaining the National Education Goals.

Part I compares high- and low-poverty schools from three vantage points: student and family characteristics, delivery of school services, and school outcomes in relation to the six National Education Goals. Unless otherwise noted, participation in the free or reduced-price lunch program is used as a proxy for the

school poverty rate. The maximum family income is set at 130 percent of the poverty level for free lunch and 185 percent for reduced-price lunch in the subsidized lunch program administered by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (hereafter referred to as subsidized lunch). Comparisons are generally drawn between public schools with participation rates in the subsidized lunch program of under 20 percent, referred to as low-poverty schools, and those with rates of at least 75 percent, referred to as high-poverty schools. Participation by students in public and private schools in the subsidized lunch program averaged 33 percent nationally in 1991 (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1991; U.S. Department of Education, 1992c). For the high-poverty category, 75 percent was selected as the threshold because it corresponds to the poverty level for eligibility for schoolwide projects in Chapter 1. Part I ends with policy implications of the current situation in high- and low-poverty schools, as evaluated by this assessment.

Student and Family Characteristics

Research has shown, and data for this assessment confirm, the important effects of school poverty and family background on individual student performance.

School Poverty

Most schools, particularly elementary schools, draw their students from surrounding neighborhoods and, because neighborhoods are often homogeneous, low-income students are likely to attend

schools with other low-income students. High-poverty schools (those with at least 75 percent of students eligible for federally subsidized lunch) contain about 8 percent of all children but 25 percent of all poor children. Schools in which more than half the children are poor serve about 19 percent of all public and private school children but 50 percent of poor children. The remaining half of poor children attend schools in which they are a minority (Westat, 1993). Because significant numbers of poor children are spread throughout the system, most schools enroll some poor children and hence receive some Chapter 1 funds.

Language-minority and limited English-proficient (LEP) students are more often found in schools with high proportions of poor children than are native English-speakers. About 22 percent of fourth-graders in high-poverty schools have limited English proficiency, compared with only 1 percent in low-poverty schools. Some 45 percent of low-achieving fourth-graders in high-poverty schools come from language-minority backgrounds (Abt Associates, 1993).

The concentration of LEP students in high-poverty schools is also reflected in their enrollments in bilingual instruction. High-poverty schools are more likely than low-poverty schools to have a significant proportion of their students enrolled in bilingual education programs; 11 percent of students in high-poverty schools participate in bilingual instruction, compared with less than 1 percent in low-poverty schools (Westat, 1993).

High-poverty schools are also more likely to enroll racial/ethnic minorities; indeed, minority groups make up 77 percent of the student body in high-poverty schools. By contrast, they make up 19 percent of the enrollment in low-poverty schools. Moreover, minority students exceed 90 percent of enrollment in nearly half of high-poverty schools (45 percent), compared with only 4 percent of low-poverty schools (Westat, 1993).

Family Characteristics

Experiences in the home and community strongly influence opportunities to learn. By age 18, children will have spent more than 90 percent of their time outside school (Clark, 1989). Of the 60 to 70 waking hours per week students spend outside school, high-achievers spend about 25 hours a week (or more) engaged in literacy-stimulating behaviors. Typically, low-achievers spend only about 12 hours a week in home and community settings cultivating their reading, math, and social literacy skills. The experiences that high-achievers get outside school equal more than three additional years of schooling (Clark, 1989). Moreover, research suggests that children in inner-city neighborhoods are less likely than other children to have options for out-of-school activities that can extend classroom learning (Chapin Hall Center for Children, 1992).

Parents are important not only as the child's first teachers but as a continuing source of values, motivation, and supervision. Although all parents can help their children, certain families face greater difficulties because of a lack of money, education, or personal resources.

Data for families of first-graders in public schools from the Prospects longitudinal study describe family features most likely to bear on school performance. Families with children in high-poverty schools have lower rates of high school completion, more one-parent households, and a greater likelihood of being nonnative speakers of English. These characteristics give rise to their children's greater need for special services. Families of children in high-poverty schools are also less likely to provide education-related materials that research indicates encourage learning in the home. For example, among families with children in high-poverty schools (see exhibit 4):

- about 55 percent of the homes do not receive a daily newspaper and 51 percent are without a magazine, two to three times the percentages for families with children in low-poverty schools; and

- 15 percent of the homes lack a dictionary, compared with 3 percent for families whose children attend more affluent schools.

Parents whose children attend high-poverty schools do participate in learning activities with their children, but the types of activities are different from those of parents whose children are enrolled in low-poverty schools (exhibit 4). While parents of children in high-poverty schools spend more time with their children doing daily household chores, families in other schools are more likely to participate with their children in activities directly related to education, such as reading to their children daily and visiting a library, museum, or zoo.

Delivery of School Services

Federal funding for Chapter 1 is intended to supplement state and local funds for schools. The law requires that Chapter 1 and non-Chapter 1 schools within the same district receive comparable resources before Chapter 1 funds are added.

Because comparability requirements focus on resource distribution within districts, they do not protect Chapter 1 students in low-revenue districts from receiving a basic educational program inferior to that provided to students in high-revenue districts. In fact, some observers have argued that where state school funding systems are inequitable, Chapter 1

Exhibit 4
Family Characteristics of First-Graders in Low- and High-Poverty Schools

Characteristic	Level of School Poverty	
	0–19%	75%–100%
Family income is under $10,000.	4%	46%
Parent is not married.	14	45
Parent has less than high school diploma.	4	31
English is not native language.	8	28
Family has no daily newspaper.	25	55
Family has no dictionary.	3	15
Family has no regular magazine	15	51
Parent does household chores with child daily.	17	36
Parent reads to child daily.	56	42
Parent visits library with child.	80	53
Parent visits science, history museums with child.	64	30

Exhibit reads: Forty-six percent of students attending high-poverty schools (75 to 100 percent eligible for subsidized lunch) live in families with incomes under $10,000.

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

may simply buy services and resources in poor districts that wealthy districts routinely provide to all students through regular funds.

Moreover, if Chapter 1 students are expected to achieve the same high academic standards as other students, they need not only equal resources but also similar access to challenging curriculum and high-quality instruction. Current Chapter 1 law assesses comparability in terms of staffing ratios and salary levels. However, some education experts (O'Day & Smith, in press), working on broader issues of educational standards, have suggested extending the concept of comparability to include the quality of learning opportunities. School delivery standards would include measures of the availability of resources and quality of services.

School Resources

When comparing expenditures in high- and low-poverty schools, the data do not support the widely held impression that most states *systematically* discriminate against poor children by providing fewer educational resources to high-poverty districts and schools.

At the district level, revenues are sometimes highly variable and dependent on local tax capacity, but local revenue-raising ability is only partly determined by income of district residents with children. Taxes from industrial property and residential property of residents without children may break the link between family income and district revenues. This is particularly true in a central city with a large commercial base. Furthermore, most states have school finance equalization schemes that direct a greater level of state support to property-poor school districts, thus weakening the link between local wealth and district revenue. States may also provide additional funds to high-poverty districts for compensatory education programs. Thus, high-poverty districts

averaged higher expenditures per pupil than low-poverty districts in 1984–85, the latest year studied. However, in roughly one-third of the states, high-poverty districts tend to have less funding per pupil than low-poverty districts, while in many other states the advantage to high-poverty districts may be too small to cover the additional needs of their students (Schwartz & Moskowitz, 1988).

At the school level, few differences can be found in the resources that cost the most and are the easiest to measure (see exhibit 5). In terms of student-teacher ratios and teacher experience, high-poverty schools appear slightly better off than low-poverty schools. Student-staff ratios and the percentage of teachers with advanced degrees do not differ across these poverty categories. None of these differences is large, and some may be the result of additional staff supported by special program funds, such as Chapter 1.

Nevertheless, the overall resource picture can mask serious inequities facing certain high-poverty schools. Schools in high-poverty communities clearly confront special problems that warrant extra resources if they are to meet the extra needs of their students. Furthermore, when high-poverty schools are located in low-revenue districts, resource limitations may seriously hamper efforts to close the achievement gap between high- and low-poverty schools. An intensive, exploratory analysis of resource availability in 95 public elementary schools in five states has examined differences in the base level of resources among high- and low-poverty schools in high- and low-revenue districts (Chambers et al., 1993). Because these schools were purposively sampled, these findings are not conclusive or nationally representative; however, they may suggest testable hypotheses about the types and magnitudes of differences among these schools. In this study, high-poverty schools were defined as those in which 59 percent of students participated in the subsidized lunch program, and low-poverty schools as those in which 12 percent of students participated in subsidized lunches.

Exhibit 5
Staff Characteristics in Low- and High-Poverty Schools

Staff Characteristic	Level of School Poverty	
	0–19%	75%–100%
Students-to-teacher ratio	19	18
Students-to-staff ratio	10	10
Percent of teachers with degree above bachelor's	41	41
Percent of classroom teachers with less than 3 years' teaching experience	15	10

Exhibit reads: The students-to-teacher ratio for high-poverty schools (18 students to 1 teacher) is slightly better than that for low-poverty schools (19 students to 1 teacher).

Source: Westat, 1993.

These data reveal few differences between the high- and low-poverty schools in the levels of resources going to the regular instructional program (exhibit 6). However, the high-poverty schools in low-revenue districts are at a distinct disadvantage compared with low-poverty schools in high-revenue districts. For this sample, a $600 revenue gap, about one-fifth of regular program expenditures, separates high-poverty schools in low-revenue districts from low-poverty schools in high-revenue districts. These expenditure differences may be reflected in the teacher characteristics in both groups of schools: teachers in the high-poverty, low-revenue schools were less likely to have a master's degree (35 percent vs. 60 percent) or to be rated by their principal as above the district average (66 percent vs. 91 percent). Teacher turnover rates were also much higher in the high-poverty, low-revenue schools (11 percent vs. 2 percent) (Chambers et al., 1993). Although further study on a more nationally representative sample of schools is needed to draw firm conclusions, these findings are consistent with a substantial literature on inequitable resources across districts and schools.

Finally, two issues concerning the availability of resources are worth noting. Oddly, high- and low-poverty schools differ more in things that do not cost much than in staffing and other high-cost resources. The Prospects study found that teachers in high-poverty schools were much less likely to report that they had adequate supplies of basic, inexpensive materials such as pencils and paper (see exhibit 7). Indeed, more than twice the number of students with teachers in high-poverty schools reported they did not have enough textbooks compared with students with teachers in low-poverty schools (Abt Associates, 1993).

Second, resource availability is affected not only by district funding levels but also by districts' allocation of resources. Case studies of several large urban districts that have large concentrations of high-poverty schools have concluded that a surprisingly low percentage of total district revenue ever makes it to the classroom to support instruction. In one district, Fischer

Exhibit 6
Cost-Adjusted Personnel Expenditures per Student, by Level of School Poverty and District Revenue: Elementary Schools

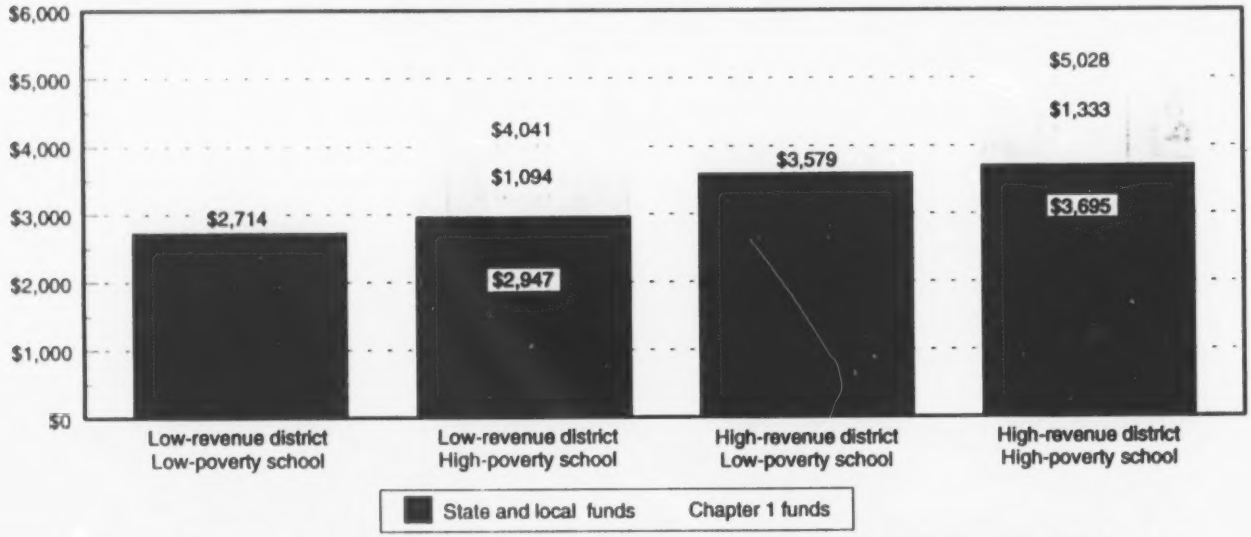


Exhibit reads: In a nonrandom sample of 95 schools, high-poverty schools received more state and local funding than low-poverty schools in the same district. The high-poverty schools in low-revenue districts received $632 less state and local funding per student than the low-poverty schools in high-revenue districts. In the high-poverty schools in low-revenue districts, Chapter 1 provided an additional $1,094 per Chapter 1 participant, of which only $462 appears supplementary, when compared with the low-poverty schools in high-revenue districts.

Note: Figure based on a purposive sample of 95 elementary schools in five states.

Source: Chapter 1 Resources: Supplementing an Equal Base? (Chambers et al., 1993).

Exhibit 7
Adequate Amounts of Basic Instructional Materials, by Level of School Poverty

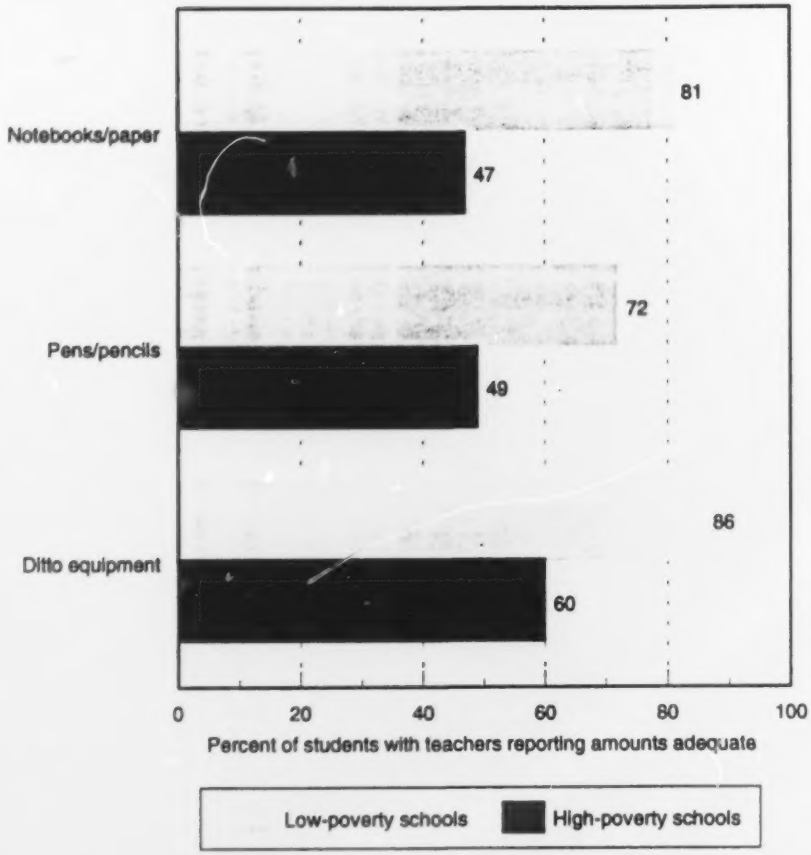


Exhibit reads: Students in high-poverty schools were much less likely to have teachers who reported adequate amounts of basic instructional materials compared with students in low-poverty schools.

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

(1990) estimated that only 56 percent of the total budget went for instructional costs. In another urban school system, per-pupil funding allocated directly to high schools amounted to less than half of the district's total per-pupil expenditures (Cooper, Sarrel, & Tetenbaum, 1990). In an effort to support direct instruction more intensely, San Francisco schools cut administrative costs and spent 10 percent more of their general fund budget on classroom instruction than other California urban school systems did in 1988–89 (Weintraub, 1992). Raising the share of funding spent on instruction could improve educational effectiveness without raising costs.

Instruction

The evidence indicates that teachers in high-poverty schools face special challenges that often undermine their effectiveness. In an examination of 31 urban schools across the country, the Institute for Educational Leadership found that teachers were most positive about their teaching when their schools had the following characteristics:

- Strong, supportive principal leadership;
- Good physical working conditions;
- High levels of staff collegiality;
- High levels of teacher influence on school decisions; and
- High levels of teacher control over curriculum and instruction.

The Institute also found, however, that these conditions were quite rare in the urban schools visited, and that their absence contributed to teachers' lower attendance and morale (Institute for Educational Leadership, 1988).

On balance, teacher responses to the Prospects study confirm these findings on a national scale, suggesting a level of frustration in high-poverty schools that is taking its toll on many teachers. Comparing high-poverty schools with low-poverty schools at the fourth grade, the researchers found that students in high-poverty schools were less likely to have teachers who—

- Look forward to each working day (62 percent compared with 85 percent).
- Believe that their school administration is supportive and encouraging (59 percent compared with 71 percent).
- Report that their colleagues are continually learning and seeking new ideas (58 percent compared with 78 percent).

One reason for the greater dissatisfaction on the part of teachers in high-poverty schools could be their lack of influence in setting basic school policies that directly affect their classrooms. Students in high-poverty schools are much less likely to have teachers who help set discipline policies (54 percent to 81 percent), establish curriculum (45 percent to 74 percent), or determine ability-grouping policies (47 percent to 64 percent) (Abt Associates, 1993).

Low morale in high-poverty schools is apparent. Students in high-poverty schools are more likely to have principals who—

- Report that staff absenteeism is a problem compared to principals in low-poverty schools (35 percent, compared with 9 percent of students in low-poverty schools).
- Give lower ratings to their teachers (42 percent compared with 24 percent) (Abt Associates, 1993).

A December 1992 Harris Poll further suggests that beginning teachers in high-poverty schools hold their fellow teachers in lower regard than do beginning teachers in schools with little poverty. Whereas a majority of new teachers in low-poverty schools gave their fellow teachers excellent ratings on their qualifications and their commitment, new teachers in high-poverty schools gave their colleagues lower marks. For example, 53 percent in low-poverty schools rated as excellent the degree to which most teachers seem to care about their students, compared with 36 percent in high-poverty schools. Moreover, beginning teachers in schools with many poor children were less likely to rate the overall quality of schooling as excellent (25 percent vs. 55 percent) (Harris, L. & Associates, 1992).

Instructional practices bear directly on instructional quality. In this regard, students in high- and low-poverty schools are exposed to similar practices with several important differences. In general, high-poverty schools spend as much time teaching reading and math as low-poverty schools, if not more time. Students in schools at both ends of the poverty range typically receive direct instruction, that is, the teacher lectures to the whole class. Neither group of schools reports widespread use of computers or calculators (Abt Associates, 1993).

Differences are obvious in several areas that bear on the richness and challenging nature of curriculum offered in high- and low-poverty schools. In reading and language arts, students in high-poverty schools receive instruction that relies more heavily on textbooks (81 percent to 54 percent) and basal readers (71 percent to 53 percent) and less on literature and trade books (42 percent to 64 percent). Students in high-poverty schools also do less creative writing (11 percent to 23 percent), less silent reading (50 percent to 69 percent), and more reading aloud in turn (41 percent to 23 percent) (Abt Associates, 1993).

In mathematics, students in schools at both ends of the poverty scale are taught the basics such as whole numbers, tables and graphs, and math facts and concepts. Differences arise in the emphasis given to more analytic concepts; students in high-poverty schools are exposed to less problem solving (64 percent, compared with 80 percent in low-poverty schools), word problems (76 percent and 84 percent), and skills to build mathematics reasoning and analytic ability (51 percent and 62 percent) (Abt Associates, 1993).

These differences appear as well in a recent assessment of urban schools by the RAND Corporation. The report asserts that "even when remedial instruction does teach students how to read, write and figure, it does not teach them how those skills are used in adult life. Remedial classes teach skills subjects in isolation from one another and leave it up to the student to see and exploit the connections." Combined with a stultifying structure and little reward for higher expectations, instruction in high-poverty schools makes for an "impoverished education" (Hill, 1992).

High-Poverty Schools and the National Education Goals

The National Education Goals constitute a broad consensus as to the long-range aims of all schools, regardless of their circumstances. To suggest how far the nation needs to move, this section examines the performance of high- and low-poverty schools against the national goals.

As the first national assessment of the comparative performance of high- and low-poverty schools on the national goals, the

analyses presented in this report should be considered preliminary. A more comprehensive indicators system could provide a better picture of school performance. Several qualifications concerning this information should be noted:

- Student performance on the national goals is not solely the responsibility of the education system. The wider community must share accountability for improved performance.

- A broad examination of performance could help guide reform efforts by pointing out the need to regard student outcomes in a larger educational context.

- Averages mask the full range of performance of schools in different poverty categories. Some high-poverty schools are showing that their students can perform at or above national average levels in reading and mathematics and that they score at acceptable levels on other indicators as well. These schools can set interim benchmarks for other high-poverty schools to attain in moving toward higher performance standards.

The remainder of this section presents information on school outcomes by level of school poverty for each of the six goals. Except where noted, the Prospects study (Abt Associates, 1993) is the primary source of information on the goals.

Goal 1: "All children in America will start school ready to learn." The National Education Goals Panel measures students' readiness to learn at the point of entry into kindergarten. While the Prospects study's sample of first-graders does not strictly address the question of readiness of kindergartners, the results for first-graders assessed by their teachers in the fall would be expected to correlate strongly with the results for kindergartners. The Prospects data can provide a preliminary indication of how

well prepared young children are for formal schooling along several dimensions of readiness.

Although the differences between high-poverty and low-poverty schools are not always large, teachers report that first-graders in high-poverty schools come to school disadvantaged by greater health, emotional, and educational problems (see exhibit 8). More than a fifth of the first-graders in high-poverty schools are perceived by their teachers as having general health problems, almost twice the percentage in low-poverty schools. The Goals Panel report suggests that students from low-income families have limited access to routine, preventive health care.

To benefit fully from schooling, first-graders need to come to school eager to learn and able to concentrate and follow instruction. Although teachers in both high- and low-poverty schools believe that most students possess these characteristics to some degree, teachers describe more students in low-poverty schools as demonstrating maturity, following directions, paying attention, working hard, and displaying creativity.

Different childhood opportunities are reflected in children's ability to use language and their overall ability to perform successfully in school. More first-graders are judged to have high overall ability in low-poverty schools than in high-poverty schools.

Goal 2: "The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent." Retention in grade is one indication of early learning problems. Research has shown that retention in grade (being overage) increases the likelihood of dropping out, when other factors such as student performance are held constant (Meisels, 1992). Retention rates in high-poverty schools far exceed those in low-poverty schools. By grade 4, about 26 percent of all students in high-poverty schools have been held back one or more times, compared with only 10 percent in low-poverty schools. In some high-poverty schools, two-thirds of the fourth-graders had been retained at least once.

Exhibit 8
Differences in School Readiness Among First-Graders in Low- and High-Poverty Schools

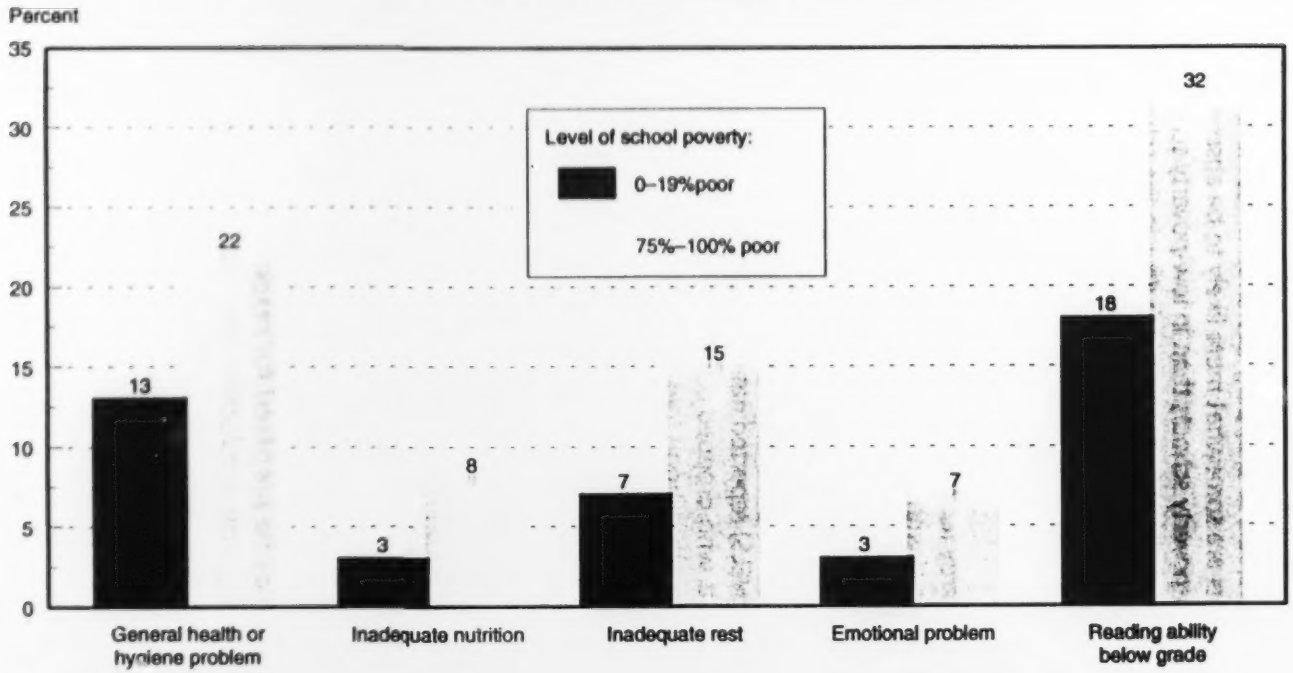


Exhibit reads: More than a fifth of first-graders in high-poverty schools are perceived by their teachers as having general health problems.

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

Absenteeism and tardiness also can indicate problems that may be precursors to dropping out. Even in first and fourth grades, students are somewhat more likely to be absent or late for class in high-poverty schools than in low-poverty schools. For example, students miss at least two more days in the school term, on average, in high-poverty schools than in low-poverty schools. Differences become more apparent by the eighth grade; students in high-poverty schools miss an average of 11 days of school each year, compared with 7 days in low-poverty schools. Eighth-graders in high-poverty schools are three times more likely to be tardy for class, averaging eight late instances a year, compared with two late instances among students in low-poverty schools.

Although national information on student dropout rates by school poverty is limited, the National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS) reported nationally representative information on students who dropped out between grades 8 and 10. Students in high-poverty schools (described as having 50 percent or more poor children) are 57 percent more likely to leave school by grade 10 than are students in schools with low-poverty levels (between 6 and 20 percent). They are more than twice as likely to drop out than are students attending schools in the 0 to 5 percent poverty range.

Goal 3: "American students will leave grades four, eight and twelve having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history and geography; and every school will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy."

Goal 4: "U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics." Goals 3 and 4 establish high aims for the performance of students in "every school." Although

standardized tests are imperfect measures, they are currently the most reliable indicators available across large numbers of schools.

The percentile results for reading and math in grades 1, 4, and 8 are displayed across the full range of school poverty (see exhibit 9). First-graders in high-poverty schools start school at a disadvantage, scoring 27 percentile points lower in reading and 32 percentile points in math behind their peers in low-poverty schools. High-poverty schools appear unable to close the initial gap, which increases in both grades 4 and 8.

It is important to examine the distribution of achievement as well as average scores within low- and high-poverty schools. The distribution of scores in reading among fourth-grade high-achievers (above 75th percentile) and low-achievers (below the 35th percentile) is shown for high- and low-poverty schools (see exhibit 10). In high-poverty schools, the distribution is skewed toward low achievement; 8 percent of students are high-achievers in reading and 56 percent are low-achievers. In low-poverty schools the pattern is reversed: 40 percent of the students are high-achievers and only 15 percent are low-achievers.

The Prospects researchers also assessed student performance against criterion-referenced outcomes. Unlike the normed comparisons, the criterion scores are intended to indicate proficiency against performance levels that are considered adequate to demonstrate satisfactory mastery of the material. The fourth-grade reading scores illustrate performance gaps against a criterion test (see exhibit 11). On a low skill objective, understanding word meanings, students in high-poverty schools do about 60 percent as well in attaining the objective as students in low-poverty schools. The gap widens for increasingly complex skills. On a more complex skill, critically assessing information, students in high-poverty schools demonstrate mastery at only 30 percent of the rate of students in low-poverty schools.

Exhibit 9
Achievement Scores in Percentiles, by Level of School Poverty: Grades 1, 3, 4, 7, and 8

Grade	Reading, by Level of School Poverty					
	All Schools	0–19%	20%–34%	35%–49%	50%–74%	75%–100%
1—Fall '91	51	60	58	50	45	33
3—Spring '91	57	66	60	55	47	30
4—Spring '92	57	67	60	55	46	28
7—Spring '91	55	66	64	50	38	21
8—Spring '92	56	65	65	50	40	22
	Math, by Level of School Poverty					
Grade	All Schools	0–19%	20%–34%	35%–49%	50%–74%	75%–100%
1—Fall '91	55	66	64	50	46	34
3—Spring '91	57	66	60	53	52	33
4—Spring '92	55	65	57	52	46	29
7—Spring '91	54	65	61	50	42	24
8—Spring '92	52	63	60	46	41	24

Exhibit reads: On the fall reading test, first-graders in low-poverty schools on average performed better than 60 percent of students in the nation.

Note: Percentiles should be interpreted as scoring above a given percentage of students nationally.

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

Exhibit 10
Distribution of High- and Low-Achieving Fourth-Graders, by School Poverty: Reading

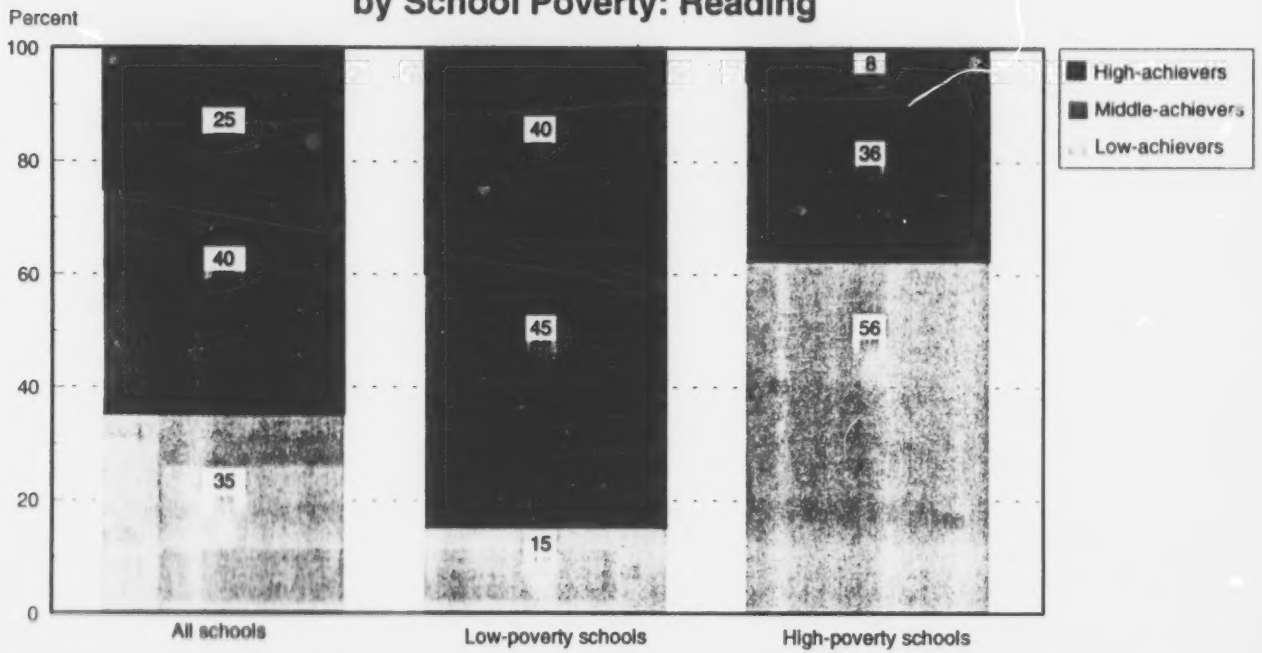


Exhibit reads: Of all fourth-graders in high-poverty schools, 56 percent are low-achievers (achieving below the 35th percentile). Only 8 percent are high-achievers (achieving above the 75th percentile).

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

Exhibit 11
Fourth-Graders' Reading Performance on Objectives, by Level of School Poverty

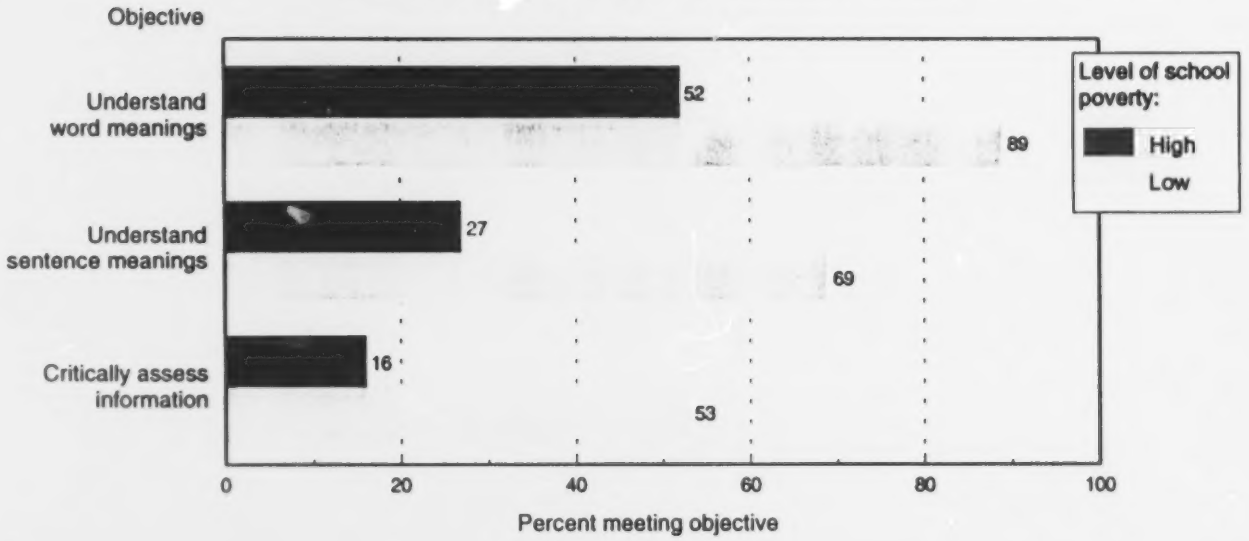


Exhibit reads: Sixteen percent of fourth-graders in high-poverty schools can critically assess the information they have read, compared with 53 percent of the fourth-graders in low-poverty schools.

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

Goal 5: "Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship." Although all parents can help their children succeed in school, parents who are literate are able to assist their children directly in reading and language development.

One-third of parents in high-poverty schools lack a high school diploma or General Educational Development (GED) certificate. By comparison, only 3 percent of parents, on average, in low-poverty schools do not have at least a high school education (Abt Associates, 1993).

As part of the Prospects study, parents were asked to identify their native language and the level of their proficiency in English. Although self-evaluations are necessarily judgmental and prone to overstatement, the responses to literacy questions reflect substantial differences. Among parents of fourth-graders in high-poverty schools, 33 percent had a native language other than English, compared with 5 percent in low-poverty schools.

Among these parents with a non-English-speaking background:

- 46 percent indicated that they could not understand English very well, compared with 9 percent in low-poverty schools;

- 48 percent indicated that they could not read English very well, compared with 13 percent in low-poverty schools.

Goal 6: "Every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning." Learning is difficult in schools where students fear for their safety or drug use is widespread. High-poverty elementary schools exhibit signs of serious misbehavior according to principal reports. Students in these schools have principals who—

- see physical conflict as a problem (81 percent of students in high-poverty schools compared with 31 percent in low-poverty schools);
- see verbal abuse of teachers as a problem (53 percent of students in high-poverty schools compared with 14 percent in low-poverty schools);
- regard physical abuse of teachers as a problem (18 percent in high-poverty schools compared with 3 percent in low-poverty schools); and
- believe that use of illegal drugs is a problem (13 percent in high-poverty schools compared with 5 percent in low-poverty schools).

Policy Implications

The Chapter 1 program cannot ignore the larger school and community context in which children are educated and spend their time. The needs of students and the capacity of schools to address these needs vary with the poverty level of the community.

Generally the disadvantages associated with attending high-poverty schools are larger than those experienced by children attending schools in the next highest poverty category (e.g., 60 to 74 percent on subsidized lunch). While problems in school performance and behavior appear to rise with the poverty of the school, they are of a different magnitude in the highest poverty category. Indeed, only in the elementary schools with 75 to 100 percent poverty did the performance of children who

were not participating in the subsidized lunch program drop below the national average scores. Even in the elementary schools with 60 to 74 percent poverty, those students not on subsidized lunch generally scored better than the national average.

This assessment of the current situation in high- and low-poverty schools suggests the following policy implications:

- **Achieving the National Education Goals for all students will not be possible without a fundamental transformation of how schools provide educational services. High-poverty schools will have a more difficult time reaching these goals without additional assistance.** Although there is clear evidence of relative improvement in performance of at-risk students since 1970, the gap separating the outcomes of students in high- and low-poverty schools remains large for all the national goals. Moreover, the achievement gap appears to widen as students move through the grades.

- **No single cause can be identified as the primary explanation for the lower performance of students in high-poverty schools; as a result, reforms must be comprehensive and systemic.** In high-poverty schools, economically disadvantaged parents are less able to provide their children with the opportunities other parents can provide, and they may lack some of the know-how required to help their children succeed in school. Many high-poverty schools lack the extra resources they need, but they also may not use current resources wisely, as evidenced by the high proportion of funds for noninstructional expenditures and teachers' reports of inadequate basic supplies. Morale of staff is relatively low, and teachers' discretion over basic school policies and classroom decisions is clearly more limited in many of these schools than in low-poverty schools.

Moreover, the instruction does not incorporate as much modern thinking about the need for teaching advanced skills along with the basics. Although the time spent on instruction in the core subjects of reading and mathematics is similar in high- and low-poverty schools, students in high-poverty areas are not receiving the extra learning opportunities they need to close the achievement gap.

- **The Chapter 1 program cannot hope to enable students in high-poverty schools to meet the national goals within any reasonable period if the program continues to operate as it does currently.** Chapter 1 is now a mature program. Many high-poverty schools have received Chapter 1 aid for decades, and yet their performance falls far short of the high standards of accomplishment that the National Education Goals have set for every school and all American children.

The next part of this report examines the operations of the Chapter 1 program, with attention to the impact of reforms introduced in the 1988 amendments. (For a complete description of the characteristics of high- and low-poverty schools, see the supplementary volume on Prospects, the National Longitudinal Study of Chapter 1.)

PART II.

THE CHAPTER 1 PROGRAM

Where Chapter 1 Dollars Go

- Although the purpose of Chapter 1 is to break the link between poverty and low achievement, especially in districts with concentrations of poverty, more than 90 percent of all school districts and over 70 percent of public elementary schools receive Chapter 1 funds under the current formula.
- Fourteen percent of high-poverty elementary schools receive no Chapter 1 funding, and one-third of the low-achieving children (who score at the 35th percentile or below on reading tests) in elementary schools with poverty rates over 75 percent do not receive Chapter 1 services.
- Funding formulas that allocate more money on the basis of low-achieving students create a disincentive for schools to demonstrate achievement gains.
- Because Chapter 1 funds are allocated to counties based on census data, areas that experience large demographic shifts may be underfunded or overfunded until new Census data are released.
- The current use of state average per-pupil expenditures as an adjustment for geographic differences in the cost of education has been criticized for underestimating costs in low-income, low-expenditure states—thus providing the neediest states and districts with less federal assistance.

Chapter 1
Where Chapter 1 Dollars Go

This is the time to improve Chapter 1, to help more children by helping the schools most in need. For too long, Congress has been spreading the money like peanut butter—thinly and evenly to most school districts. That way, the program is palatable to all. But it doesn't do much good in resource-poor schools.

—*Washington Post,* January 21, 1993

Chapter 1 is intended to break the link between family poverty and low student achievement, particularly for children in schools with high concentrations of poverty. To support this goal, the Chapter 1 formula targets federal funds to school districts based primarily on their numbers of children from low-income families. Schools become eligible for the program on the basis of their poverty ranking within the district, but schools receive funds in accordance with their educational need (typically, the number of children meeting the district's definition of low achievement). Also influencing the final distribution of funds are an adjustment for differences in the cost of education across states, provisions allowing local discretion in school eligibility, and procedures for actually allocating funds among eligible schools.

This chapter provides an overview of the Chapter 1 funding process and its effects on the distribution of funds. Key issues in targeting include the tension between focusing funds where the needs are greatest and spreading funds to reach the maximum

number of needy students, as well as questions about the accuracy and possible unintended consequences of each mechanism used in allocating funds.

Current Procedures for Allocation of Chapter 1 Funds

Chapter 1 grants for local education agencies (LEAs) are allocated through two formulas: Basic Grants and Concentration Grants. Basic Grants currently distribute roughly 90 percent of the funds, and Concentration Grants distribute the remaining 10 percent. The federal government allocates Basic and Concentration Grants to the county level, primarily using the number of poor school-age children (ages 5–17) from the last decennial census. The county allocations are adjusted using state average per-pupil expenditures (limited to between 80 and 120 percent of the national average), a factor intended to compensate for differences in the cost of education across states. States then suballocate these funds to school districts in accordance with the number of children from low-income families in each district, using the census, participation in the subsidized lunch program, or other data on children from low-income families.

The main provisions for targeting Chapter 1 Basic Grants have remained the same since the early 1970s. Basic Grants are allocated in proportion to each county's share of the nation's number of formula-eligible children—primarily poor school-age children identified in the decennial census. A hold-harmless provision guarantees that each county receives at least 85 percent of its preceding year's allocation. The 1988 amendments also added a state minimum guarantee.

The second component, Concentration Grants, was added in the 1978 amendments. Concentration Grants provide additional Chapter 1 funds to counties with very high numbers or percentages of poor children, on the grounds that high-poverty communities face unusual burdens in meeting the educational needs of their children. Counties receive Concentration Grants when their population of formula-eligible children exceeds either 6,500 children or 15 percent of children ages 5–17 in the county. There is a state minimum guarantee but no hold-harmless provision. Concentration Grants were first authorized in 1978 and funded in 1979 through 1981. The formula for Concentration Grants was modified in the 1988 reauthorization; funds were appropriated in 1989 and have continued since.

When school districts receive their Chapter 1 allocations from the states, they combine Basic and Concentration Grants, using the two funding streams as one. Within a school district, a school is eligible for the Chapter 1 program if its attendance area has a poverty rate that is relatively high for that district (typically based on data from the subsidized lunch or Aid to Families with Dependent Children programs). In general, districts select the schools that rank the highest on measures of poverty, but the law allows several exceptions to a strict ranking. Among them are the "grade span" option, which allows districts to limit services to designated grades; the "no wide variance" option, which allows districts to serve all schools if the range in school poverty rates is narrow; the "25 percent" option, which allows districts to designate as eligible for Chapter 1 services any attendance area where at least 25 percent of children are from low-income families; and the "grandfather" option, which allows districts to continue programs for one additional year in schools no longer eligible for Chapter 1 services.

The allocation of funds among eligible schools is based on the number and needs of children to be served—that is, low-achievers—rather than the number of poor children. Generally, rankings of schools by subsidized lunch participation

correspond to rankings by low achievement, but there are exceptions. An analysis of six urban school districts found that two districts showed negative correlations between subsidized lunch participation and numbers of low-achieving students (Westat, 1992a). One possible explanation is that these districts appear to have large populations of illegal immigrants, whose children may be less likely to apply for subsidized lunch. Secondary school students are also much less likely than elementary school students to participate in the subsidized lunch program.

Effects of Current Targeting Procedures

The current targeting procedures affect the numbers of schools that provide Chapter 1 services, the amount of funds they receive based on numbers and need, and the distribution of Chapter 1 funds across counties.

School Participation in Chapter 1

About 52,000 schools, half of all schools in the country, receive Chapter 1 funds. While 71 percent of public elementary schools provide Chapter 1 services, only 30 percent of public secondary schools (grades 9–12) participate in Chapter 1. Among nonpublic schools, 42 percent of Roman Catholic schools enroll students who participate in the program; 6 percent of other religious schools and 13 percent of secular private schools also have students who participate (Anderson, 1992).

The large number of schools served by Chapter 1 raises the issue of whether the program is focused on those schools with the greatest need for federal support. Substantial numbers of schools at all poverty levels participate in the program. At the elementary level, almost half of the schools serving fewer than 10 percent poor children participate in Chapter 1, while 14 percent of schools serving more than 50 percent poor children receive no Chapter 1 funds (Anderson, 1992). As a result, many low-achieving children in high-poverty schools go unserved; Prospects data on first- and fourth-graders indicate that about one-third of the low-achieving children (who score at the 35th percentile or below on reading tests) in schools with poverty rates over 75 percent do not receive Chapter 1 services (Abt Associates, 1993).

Allocation of Funds to Schools

By prescribing the allocation of funds according to the number and needs of children to be served, the law establishes a perverse incentive: as achievement rises, funding decreases. Thirteen percent of principals in elementary schools reported that their Chapter 1 program had lost some funding as a result of improved performance (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993). A school thus faces a financial disincentive for achievement gains and an incentive to maintain poor or mediocre student performance. Whether or not school staff make conscious choices based on this incentive, a low-achievement criterion for resource allocation among schools penalizes successful schools while rewarding unsuccessful ones.

Targeting of Funds to Counties

Examining the distribution of Chapter 1 funds among counties shows the impact of the Basic and Concentration Grant formulas on targeting to concentrations of poverty. Exhibit 12 shows the distribution of students and Chapter 1 funds among counties by poverty quartile.

Exhibit 12
Distribution of School-Age Children, Poor Children, and Chapter 1 FY 1993 Funds Among Counties

	Counties				
	Highest Poverty Quartile[a]	Second-Highest Poverty Quartile	Second-Lowest Poverty Quartile	Lowest Poverty Quartile	Counties With 10 Largest Districts[b]
Children ages 5–17	25%	25%	25%	25%	13%
Poor children ages 5–17	45%	26%	19%	10%	16%
Basic Grants	42%	26%	20%	12%	19%
Concentration Grants	52%	32%	14%	2%	25%
Total LEA grants	43%	26%	20%	11%	20%
Targeting ratio: LEA grant share compared with share of poor children ages 5–17	.96	1.00	1.05	1.10	1.25

Exhibit reads: 45 percent of the nation's poor children live in the highest-poverty counties, which receive only 43 percent of Chapter 1 grants to LEAs.

Note: In order to permit comparisons with the simulations of formula options in Part III, FY 1993 allocations were calculated without the current 85 percent hold-harmless provision, which would phase in major shifts over a number of years. Puerto Rico's allocation was held constant from FY 1992. All other current formula provisions were retained.

[a]Each poverty quartile contains roughly one-fourth of the nation's school-age children, according to the 1990 census.

[b]The 10 largest school districts and their counties are New York (Bronx, King, New York, Queens, and Richmond); Los Angeles; Chicago (Cook); Dade; Philadelphia; Houston (Harris); Detroit (Wayne); Broward; Fairfax; and Dallas.

Source: Pelavin Associates (1993).

The highest-poverty counties, which serve 25 percent of all school-age children and 45 percent of poor children, receive 43 percent of the funds. The targeting ratio shows that the share of funding in the highest poverty quartile is 96 percent of these counties' share of the nation's poor children. The counties in the second poorest poverty quartile receive funding proportionate to their share of poor children, while the richest two quartiles receive a disproportionately high share of funding. The final column of exhibit 12 shows that the counties containing the 10 largest school districts receive 20 percent of Chapter 1 grants, while enrolling only 16 percent of the nation's poor children.

Disparities between counties' share of poor children and share of Chapter 1 funding occur in part because of the cost of education adjustment, which increases allocations to high-expenditure states; while these states tend to have lower poverty rates, the adjustment may be justified by the higher cost of providing educational services in these states.

Concentration Grants are targeted more heavily on the highest-poverty counties, which receive 52 percent of Concentration Grant funds and 42 percent of Basic Grant funds. But because Concentration Grants allocate only 11 percent of Chapter 1 funds, they have little influence on overall funding patterns. Moreover, Concentration Grants are less concentrated than they could be: 66 percent of counties receive Concentration Grants, and 15 percent of Concentration Grant funds go to counties with below-average poverty rates (see exhibit 12).

The Need for Accurate Data on Child Poverty

Because Chapter 1 funds are allocated to counties based on decennial census data, areas that experience large demographic shifts over the course of the decade may be proportionally overfunded or underfunded until new census data are released. Areas that experience increases in their population of poor children do not receive Chapter 1 funds for these new children until the next census, while areas with a declining poverty population continue to receive funds for children who are no longer there. In fact, school district allocations will not reflect the 1990 census data until the 1993–94 school year, because of the forward funding of the Chapter 1 program and lags in completing tabulations of the decennial census.

Substantial shifts in the distribution of child poverty did in fact occur between 1980 and 1990. Nationally the number of school-age children in poverty rose by 5 percent, from 7.7 million to 8.1 million. At the state level, however, 25 states experienced declines of up to 34 percent, while the other states saw increases of up to 67 percent. Generally, the distribution of school-age poor children is shifting westward from the Northeast, with changes ranging from -38 to +58 percent in states' shares of poor children (see exhibit 13). The states with the largest gains in child poverty are sometimes, but not always, the same as the states with the highest rates of child poverty (see exhibit 14).

The shifts in poverty will cause major changes in the distribution of Chapter 1 funding across the states. If the FY 1992 allocations, which used the 1980 census, had been based instead on the 1990 census—and if there were no provision in the formula to limit abrupt changes in funding—24 states would have received up to 46 percent more funding than their actual FY 1992 allocations, while 26 states would

Exhibit 13
Percentage Change in State Shares of the Nation's Poor School-Age Children, 1980 to 1990

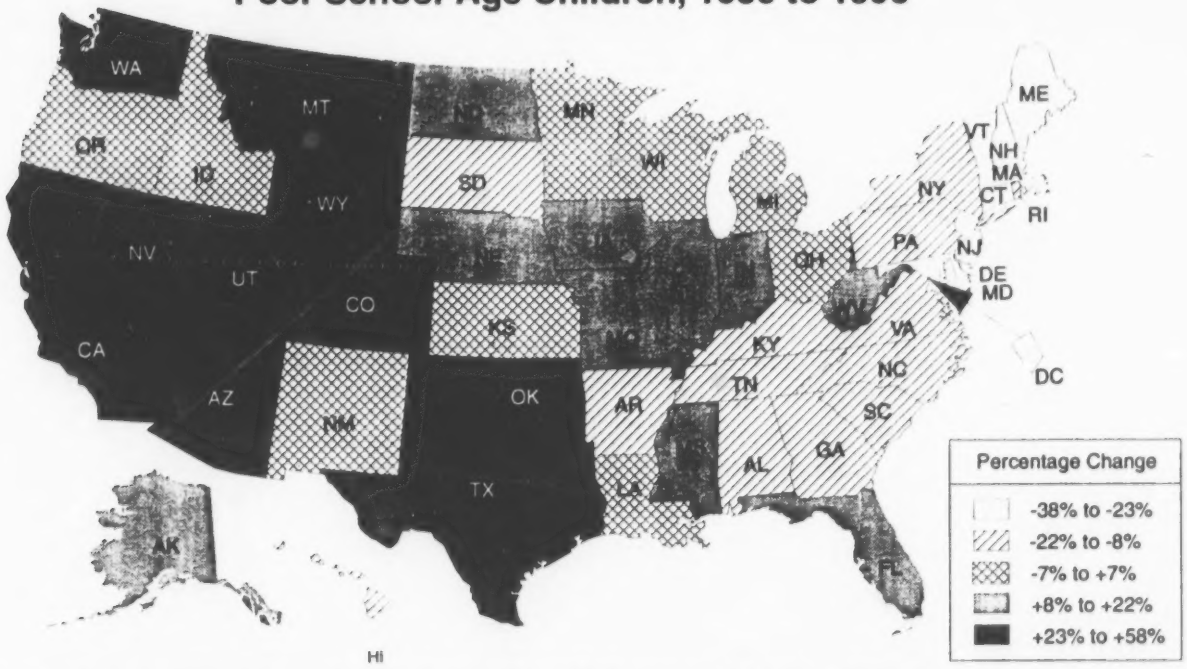
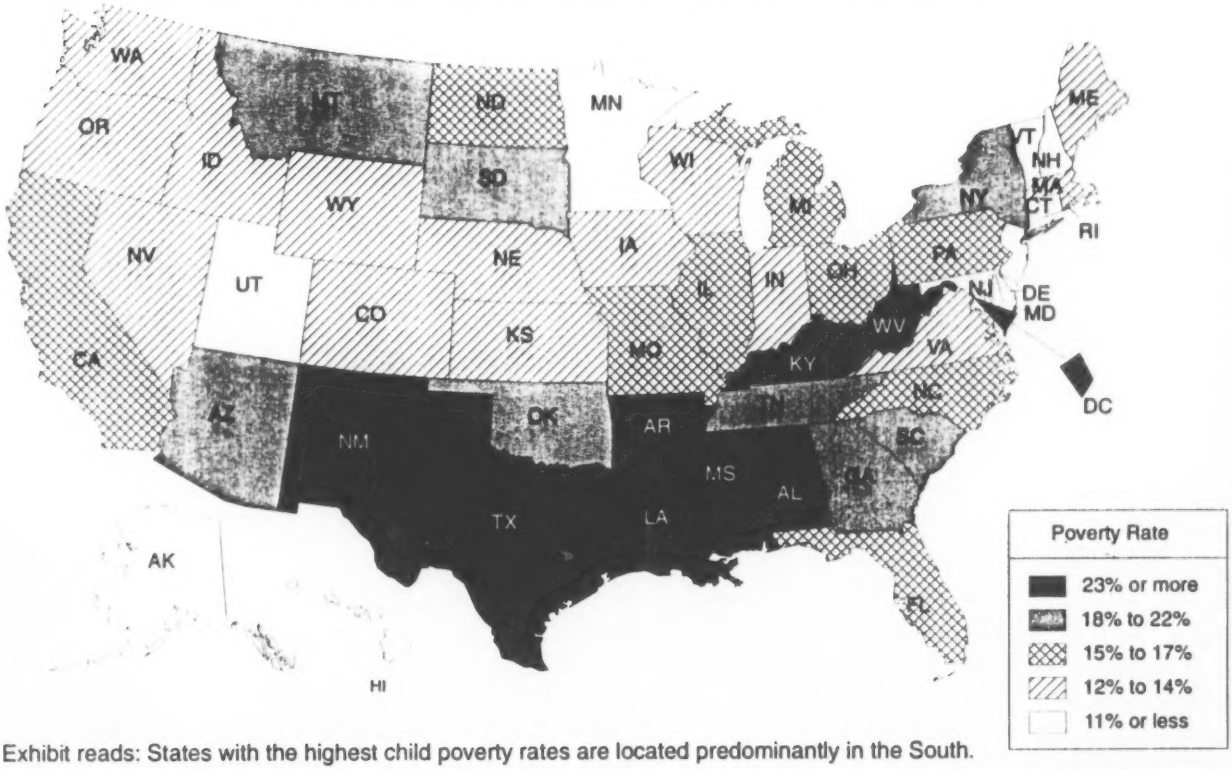


Exhibit reads: The percentage change in state shares of the nation's poor school-age children between 1980 and 1990 shows a demographic shift to the West. States like Maine now have a decreased share of the nation's poor children, while the share of poor children in states such as California grew.

Source: 1990 Census (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1992).

Exhibit 14
State Poverty Rates for School-Age Children, 1990



U.S. average = 18%

Exhibit reads: States with the highest child poverty rates are located predominantly in the South.

Source: 1990 Census (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1992).

have lost up to 37 percent of their allocations. However, the current Chapter 1 hold-harmless provision would result in the phasing in of these funding shifts over a number of years.

Adjusting for Differences in the Cost of Education

School districts in different parts of the country face different costs when they purchase educational services. The current Chapter 1 formula adjusts allocations using an index of state per-pupil expenditures as a proxy for the cost of education. The per-pupil expenditure factor is bounded to between 80 percent and 120 percent of the national average.

Expenditure per pupil is clearly an imperfect cost adjustment, reflecting not only cost differences among states but also other factors such as state fiscal capacity and preference for spending on education. Comparisons with two other cost-related factors, average teacher salaries and average private-sector wages, suggest that the per-pupil expenditure factor systematically overestimates the cost of education in higher-income states and underestimates it in lower-income states. The current cost factor redistributes Basic Grant funds mainly away from relatively low-income states in the South to relatively high-income states in the Northeast, shifting a total of approximately $364 million in FY 1993, or 6 percent of Chapter 1 Basic Grants (Pelavin, 1993).

Costs may vary considerably more within states than across states. However, the current formula does not adjust for

within-state cost differences, and there is no nationally uniform cost index at the county or school district level.

(See the supplementary volume on Targeting, Formula, and Resource Allocation Issues for more information on these topics.)

Chapter 1 Participants

- The Chapter 1 program serves approximately 5.5 million students. Although Chapter 1 participants are more likely than nonparticipants to attend high-poverty schools, the program also serves many students in relatively well-off schools.
- The average achievement of all students in high-poverty schools (those with at least 75 percent poverty) is about the same as that of Chapter 1 students in low-poverty schools (those with poverty levels below 20 percent).
- Chapter 1 programs serve a greater number of LEP students than Title VII, the federal bilingual education program targeted specifically for LEP students; 35 percent of all LEP students are in Chapter 1 and 15 percent of Chapter 1 students are LEP.
- Yet the Chapter 1 program is only permitted to serve LEP students whose educational needs stem from educational deprivation and are not solely related to limited English proficiency.
- By the seventh grade, 41 percent of Chapter 1 participants had been retained in grade one or more times, compared with 20 percent of all students. Students who have been retained in grade are less likely to complete high school.
- The scores of Chapter 1 students ranked them in the bottom fourth of U.S. students in reading and math on nationally normed tests. The average performance of Chapter 1 students did not improve from the third to fourth grade relative to the nation.
- Students who performed above the 35th percentile on standardized tests were unlikely to be represented among participants in Chapter 1 or other compensatory education.

Chapter 2
Chapter 1 Participants

Of course, these children perform less well on standardized tests; the whole system conspires to teach them less. But when the results come in, we are only too happy to excuse ourselves and turn around to blame the children or their parents.

—The Commission on Chapter 1, December 10, 1992

The Chapter 1 program serves approximately 5.5 million students (Sinclair & Gutmann, 1993). In each participating school, students become eligible for the program on the basis of their low achievement, typically measured by standardized tests with allowance for teacher judgment. From the eligible students, schools select those who have the greatest need, and these students receive Chapter 1 services.

Participation and Poverty

Although Chapter 1 participants are more likely than nonparticipants to attend high-poverty schools, the program also serves many students in relatively well-off schools (see exhibit 15). Because Chapter 1 serves such a high proportion of the nation's schools, especially at the elementary level, the program is found

Exhibit 15
Distribution of All Students and Chapter 1 Participants, by Level of School Poverty, 1988

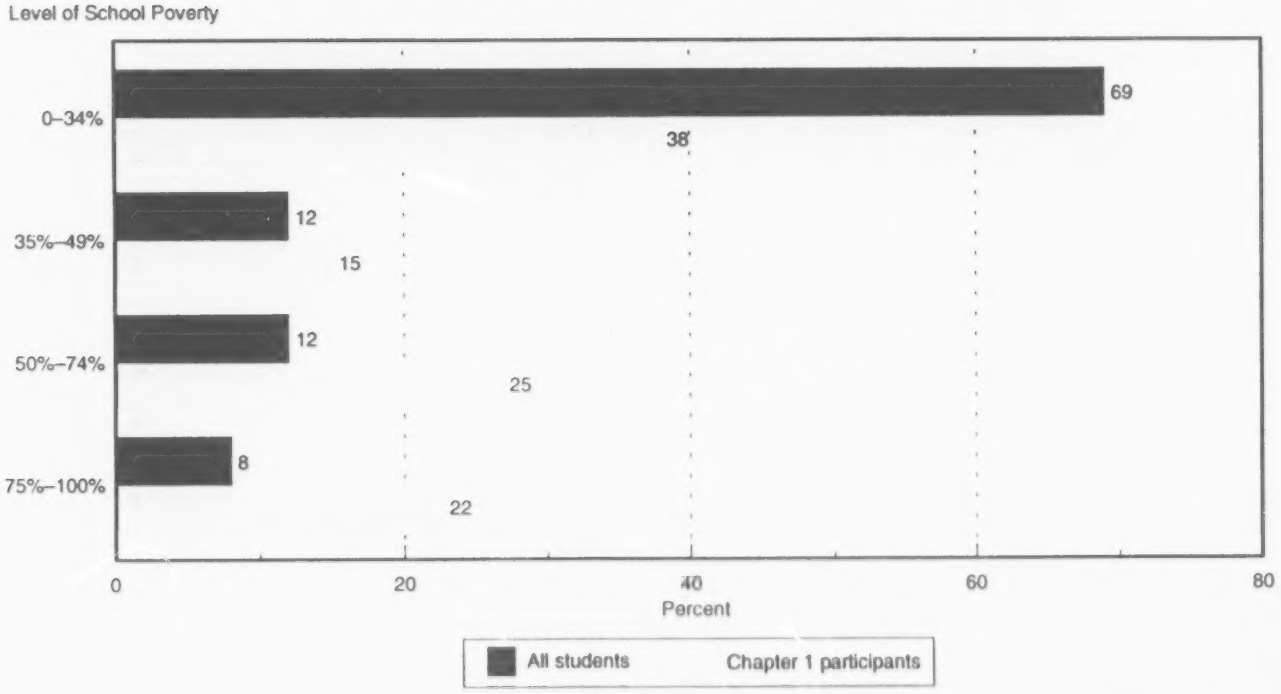


Exhibit reads: Eight percent of all students attend schools with 75 to 100 percent poverty, but 22 percent of all Chapter 1 participants attend these schools.

Source: Schools and Staffing Survey (Westat, 1993).

in schools with high overall student performance as well as in schools where many students are doing poorly. As a result, the profile of participants differs across districts and schools; a student whose test scores are slightly below the national norm could qualify for Chapter 1 services in a generally high performing school but not in one with low overall performance. These achievement differences tend to be related to school poverty. Indeed, the average achievement of *all* students in high-poverty schools is about the same as Chapter 1 participants in low-poverty schools. Chapter 1 students in high-poverty schools score well above other Chapter 1 participants (see exhibit 16).

At the same time, however, Chapter 1 students are found in greater proportions in higher-poverty schools. They make up only 4 percent of the total enrollment in low-poverty schools, rising to 29 percent of the enrollment, on average, in high-poverty schools.

Moreover, Chapter 1 students individually are characterized by substantial socioeconomic disadvantage, including participation in subsidized breakfast and lunch, low family income, and low educational attainment of parents. Although some 27 percent of parents of Chapter 1 participants did not complete the Prospects questionnaire, responses from those parents who did suggest that Chapter 1 students are at least twice as likely to be economically disadvantaged as other students. According to fourth-graders' parents, 46 percent of Chapter 1 participants receive free or reduced-price breakfast and 65 percent receive subsidized lunch, compared with 21 and 33 percent, respectively, of all students. One-third of Chapter 1 families have total annual incomes of under $10,000; by comparison, only 14 percent of all families of fourth-graders have incomes this low. In addition, over one-fourth (28 percent) of Chapter 1 parents have not graduated from high school or earned an equivalency certificate, compared with 9 percent of parents of nonparticipants.

Exhibit 16
Reading Scores for All Students and Chapter 1 Participants, by Level of School Poverty: Fourth Grade, Spring 1992

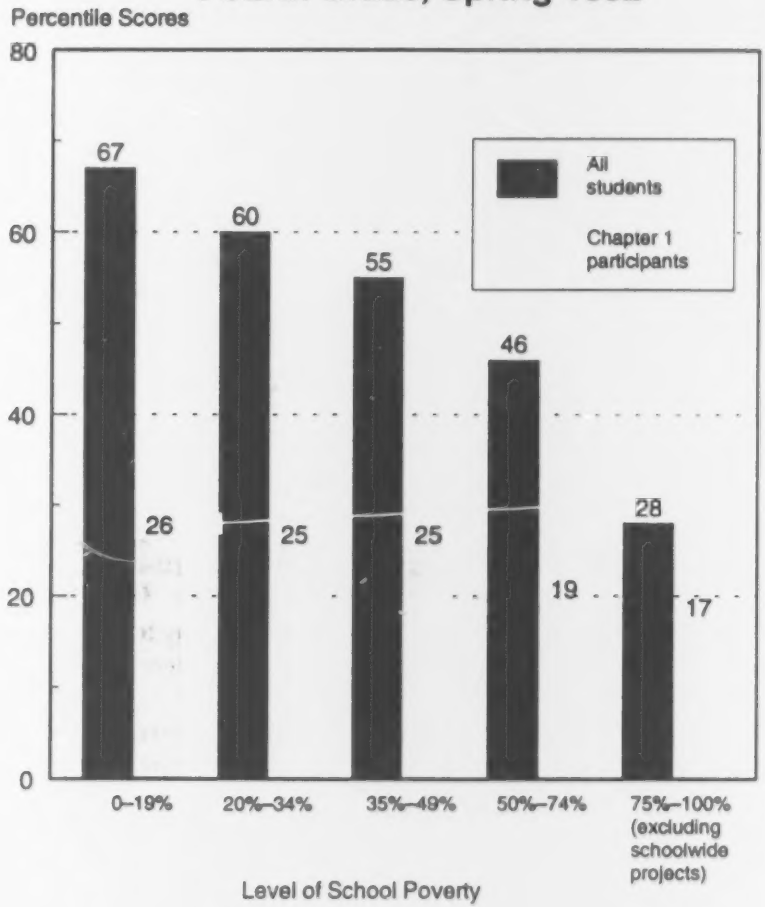


Exhibit reads: The average achievement of all students in high-poverty schools is about the same as Chapter 1 participants in low-poverty schools. Chapter 1 students in high-poverty schools score well below other Chapter 1 participants.

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

Racial/ethnic minorities are also more likely to participate in Chapter 1, relative to their representation in elementary/secondary schools. According to state reports, 41 percent of all Chapter 1 participants are white, 28 percent are black, 27 percent are Hispanic, 2 percent are American Indian or Alaska Native, and 3 percent are Asian or Pacific Islander (Sinclair & Gutmann, 1993).

Limited English-Proficient Students

Chapter 1 serves more limited English-proficient (LEP) students than does Title VII, the federal bilingual education program targeted specifically for LEP students. Projections from a nationally representative sample of districts (1991) and schools (1992) indicate that the overall number of LEP students is growing, rising from 1.4 million in 1985–86 to 2.3 million in 1991–92 (Development Associates, 1993).

A nationally representative survey found in 1991 that 35 percent of the nation's LEP students were in Chapter 1 programs (Development Associates, 1993). These 800,000 students account for 15 percent of the 5.5 million Chapter 1 participants reported by the states in 1990–91 (Sinclair & Gutmann, 1993). By contrast, Title VII served a reported 310,000 students in fiscal year 1991. According to data from the nationally representative Prospects study, 17 percent of first-graders and 22 percent of fourth-graders in Chapter 1 were LEP; in the eighth grade, about 9 percent of Chapter 1 reading participants were LEP (Abt Associates, 1993).

Chapter 1 Students and the National Education Goals

Part I examined the performance of high- and low-poverty schools benchmarked to the National Education Goals. This section profiles Chapter 1 participants on several indicators keyed to the goals, suggesting the task involved in bringing Chapter 1 students up to current levels of achievement. Again, averages mask the achievement of outstanding schools and Chapter 1 projects but are used here to indicate general levels of performance.

Goal 1: "All children in America will start school ready to learn." The first National Education Goal is intended to enable all students to enter school ready to learn. Chapter 1 students, like other low-achieving students, enter school with several disadvantages. Approximately one-fifth (21 percent) of Chapter 1 first-graders are described by their teachers as having some health or hygiene problem, compared with 17 percent of students not participating in Chapter 1 or other special programs. While teachers report that inadequate nutrition is a problem for 6 percent of Chapter 1 first-graders, similar to students overall, inadequate rest affects 15 percent of the Chapter 1 first-graders, compared with 10 percent of all students. Teachers typically report lower levels of concentration and less motivation to learn among their Chapter 1 charges than among other students—43 percent of Chapter 1 students have low attention spans and 28 percent lack motivation, compared with 23 and 13 percent, respectively, of nonparticipants (Abt Associates, 1993).

Chapter 1 students are less likely to have participated in preschool education programs than other students. One-third (33 percent) had no preschool experience at age 4, compared with 24 percent of nonparticipants. Yet Chapter 1 participants who attended preschool were at least twice as likely to participate in Head Start

as other students. Approximately 22 percent of the Chapter 1 first-graders have participated in Head Start at age 4, according to parents' reports (Abt Associates, 1993).

Goal 2: "The high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent." Because Chapter 1 services are provided primarily in elementary and middle schools, Chapter 1's contribution toward this goal must be examined through evidence on early failure. Chapter 1 students appear to have several strikes against them in attaining the second National Education Goal—graduating from high school. Two predictors of school success—grade promotion and attendance—were lower for Chapter 1 students than other students. Twenty-eight percent of Chapter 1 students have been held back at least once by the fourth grade, compared with 15 percent of all students. By the eighth grade, 41 percent of Chapter 1 participants have been retained in grade at least once, compared with 20 percent of all students. Even in the first grade, Chapter 1 students are reported more often by their teachers as having an absenteeism problem than are nonparticipants (12 percent compared with 7 percent) (Abt Associates, 1993).

Goal 3: "American students will leave grades four, eight and twelve having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history and geography; and every school will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy."

Goal 4: "U.S. students will be first in the world in science and mathematics." Goals 3 and 4 establish high aims for the performance of students in "every school." Although standardized tests are imperfect measures, they are the most reliable indicators currently available across large numbers of schools. The poor school performance of Chapter 1 students is

most obvious on standardized achievement tests, as test scores are the most common measure for identifying students as eligible for Chapter 1 services. While Chapter 1 students are typically tested in reading and math, their low scores on these tests suggest that they may have difficulty as well on other core subjects identified in the third and fourth National Education Goals.

Chapter 1 participants' average scores ranked them in the bottom fourth of U.S. students in reading and math on the nationally normed tests administered through the Prospects study. Participants in the high-poverty schools fared worst, typically scoring lower than other Chapter 1 participants. On average, Chapter 1 students in the high-poverty schools scored no better than the 20th percentile on the Prospects tests (see exhibits 17 and 18) (Abt Associates, 1993).

Data from the Prospects study indicate that the program is targeting children who score near the bottom on standardized tests. Yet not all low-performers are being served by Chapter 1 or other supplementary programs offered by the states and local school districts. Low-performers are much more likely to participate in Chapter 1 or other compensatory instruction in the earlier grades. Approximately 47 percent of low-achieving students (those who scored below the 35th percentile) in the first and fourth grades received compensatory education assistance in reading through Chapter 1 or some other supplementary program. This percentage declined to 22 percent by the eighth grade. In compensatory math, participation of low-achieving students averaged about 24 percent in the first grade and about 37 percent in the fourth grade, falling to 13 percent served by the eighth grade. Even in the high-poverty schools (those with 75 percent or more students on subsidized lunch), 38 percent of eighth-graders did not have Chapter 1 reading services available (Abt Associates, 1993).

Exhibit 17
Third-Grade Scores of All Students and Chapter 1 Participants

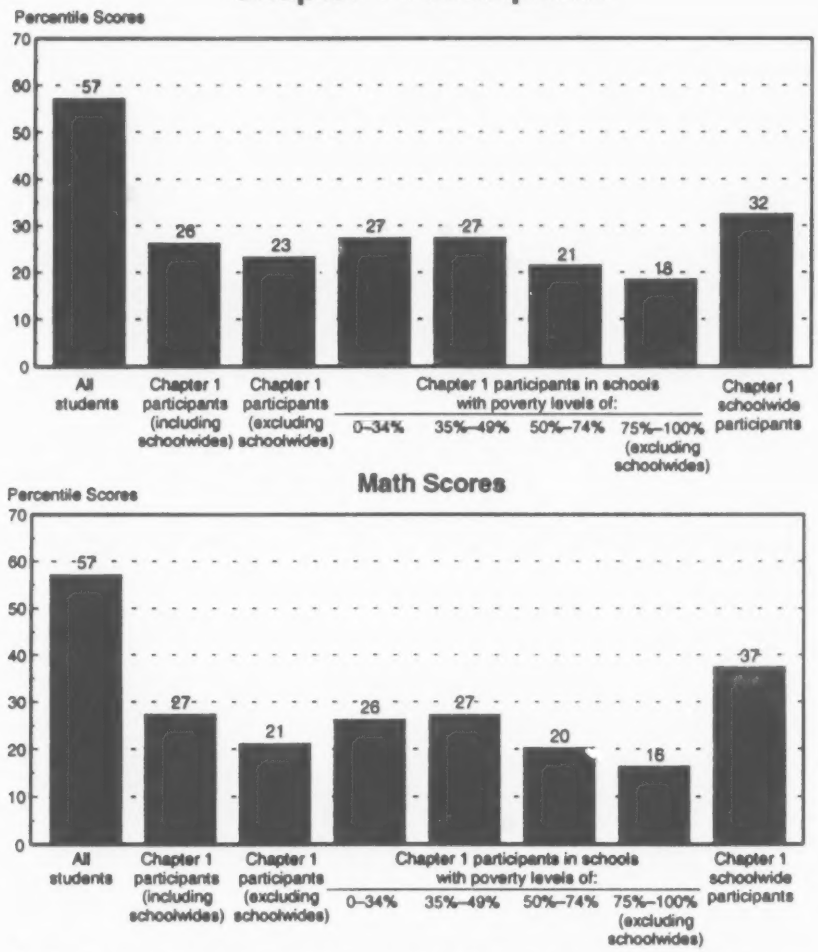
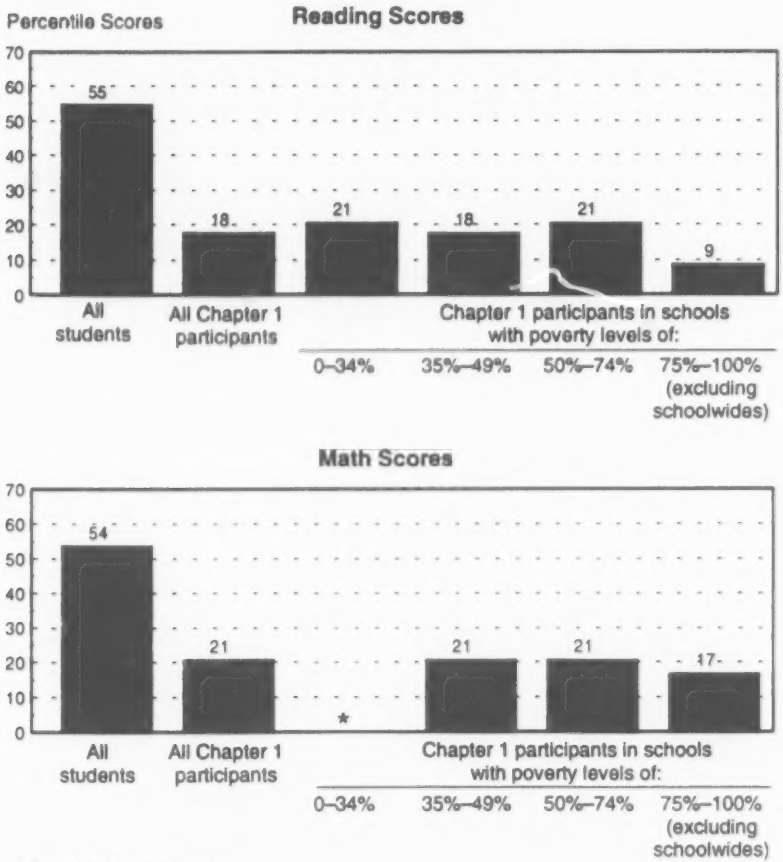


Exhibit reads: Chapter 1 participants in the third grade scored among the bottom quarter of all students nationally on reading and math standardized tests. Performance was lowest among Chapter 1 participants in high-poverty schools.

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

Exhibit 18
Seventh-Grade Scores of All Students and Chapter 1 Participants



* Sample too small to report.

Exhibit reads: The reading and math scores for Chapter 1 participants in the seventh grade were in the bottom quarter of students nationally.

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

Chapter 1 serves such a small percentage of higher-performing students that it is clear the program is focusing on the educationally disadvantaged. Students who performed above the 35th percentile on the Prospects standardized tests were unlikely to be represented among participants in Chapter 1 or other compensatory instruction. Among the third-grade cohort, less than 14 percent of those scoring between the 35th and the 75th percentiles participated in supplementary reading and about 11 percent in math (Abt Associates, 1993).

Goal 5: "Every adult American will be literate and will possess the knowledge and skills necessary to compete in a global economy and exercise the rights and responsibilities of citizenship." While an effective Chapter 1 program would help ensure adequate academic preparation of all students for adulthood, that portion of Goal 5 that seeks to achieve universal literacy is particularly relevant to Chapter 1's mission. On the fifth National Education Goal, many Chapter 1 students are at a distinct disadvantage because more than one-fourth (28 percent) of their parents lack a high school diploma or an equivalency certificate. By comparison, only 9 percent of nonparticipants' parents lack a high school education. Chapter 1 participants and their families may also lack proficiency in English. Chapter 1 students are more likely than the general student population to come from non-English-language backgrounds. Among the parents of Chapter 1 fourth-graders, 20 percent indicate that English is not their native language, compared with 11 percent of all parents (Abt Associates, 1993).

Goal 6: "Every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning." Learning is difficult in schools where students fear for their safety or drug use is widespread. Schools attended by Chapter 1 participants are likely to be characterized by higher levels of disorder and drug use than schools generally, thus making it harder for students in Chapter 1 schools to attain the sixth National Education Goal. Moreover, a significant minority of

Chapter 1 students exhibit signs of serious misbehavior themselves in the elementary grades. Almost one-fifth (19 percent) show behavioral problems in first and fourth grade, disrupting the learning time for themselves and their classmates. For example, 19 percent of Chapter 1 participants in the fourth grade are described by their teachers as being highly disruptive in class, twice the proportion of other students. Chapter 1 participants in the eighth grade, however, are no more likely to be described as disruptive than are other students. Among fourth-graders, 4 percent of the Chapter 1 participants have been suspended from school at least once, compared with 1 percent of all students. By eighth grade, 15 percent of Chapter 1 participants have been suspended, nearly double the rate of all students (Abt Associates, 1993).

Chapter 1 students' poor performance on standardized tests and problems in grade retention and discipline indicate that the Chapter 1 program is targeting students who are at great risk of school failure. Subsequent chapters address the extent to which the program is adequately providing these students with the kinds of instruction and supplemental services needed to overcome their tremendous disadvantages.

(For a more thorough discussion of the participation and performance of Chapter 1 students, see the supplementary descriptive volume on Chapter 1 services and the Prospects interim report.)

Instructional Services

- Chapter 1 focuses on basic skills instruction in language arts and mathematics in the elementary grades.
- Pullout classes are still most prevalent (74 percent) but schools have moved in the direction of offering a combination of service delivery modes; indeed, in-class instruction has doubled since 1985–86.
- Chapter 1 programs do not often extend learning time; 9 percent offer before- and after-school instruction and 15 percent offer summer school Chapter 1 instruction. Seventy percent of regular classroom teachers report that Chapter 1 students are pulled out of regular instruction for their Chapter 1 services.
- Chapter 1 employs about as many aides as teachers, many of whom provide direct instruction—especially in high-poverty schools. However, over 80 percent of aides have only a high school diploma.
- Chapter 1 teachers have better credentials than their regular classroom teacher counterparts.
- Chapter 1 preschool classes look similar to other early childhood programs such as Head Start, although the array of social services provided by Head Start are not typically provided in Chapter 1.
- Chapter 1 services in secondary schools emphasize basic skills remediation in isolation from the regular curriculum. The emphasis on basic skills instruction may be even more inappropriate for secondary school students, who need courses that accrue graduation credit and help prepare the students for gainful employment or further schooling.

Chapter 3
Instructional Services

The vision of Chapter 1 staff being treated as "poor relations" (i.e., isolated, considered less able, given less resources) was not supported by our research [an examination of 120 schools]. Regardless of school poverty, most Chapter 1 teachers were considered specialists and respected for their expertise, were sought out for advice and acted as a resource to teachers, provided staff training, and often had advanced training or multiple certifications.

—Chambers et al. (1993)

Chapter 1 requires school districts to ensure that programs are of "sufficient size, scope, and quality to give reasonable promise of substantial progress toward meeting the special educational needs of the children being served" (Section 1012[c][1]). Within this broad mandate, districts have great latitude in program design. This chapter describes the services and staffing found in current Chapter 1 programs, pointing out their strengths and weaknesses when measured against ideas about sound educational practice. Changes in design over time are discussed, and any differences in program design associated with the school's poverty level are described.

Subjects Taught in Chapter 1

The Chapter 1 program provides instruction in reading, mathematics, and language arts, although there are no statutory or regulatory limits on the subject areas taught. More than 95 percent of Chapter 1 elementary schools offer Chapter 1 reading, and 69 percent offer Chapter 1 mathematics (see exhibit 19). An almost identical distribution of Chapter 1 subject areas is also found in Chapter 1 middle and secondary schools (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

Over time, one change has been the increased prominence of instruction in English as a Second Language (ESL) in Chapter 1 programs above the elementary grades. The proportion of middle and secondary school principals who reported offering ESL in their Chapter 1 program almost doubled from 1985–86 to 1991–92, rising from 8 percent to 15 percent (Millsap, Moss & Gamse, 1993).

Aside from this expansion in ESL, Chapter 1 subject areas have remained very stable. Although the National Education Goals have called for an expansion of the core subjects to include history, science, and geography, Chapter 1 continues to emphasize instruction in the bedrock subjects of reading and mathematics.

Service Arrangements

Pullout arrangements, where children receive their services outside the regular classroom, remain a predominant service configuration—74 percent of elementary schools offered at least

Exhibit 19
Subjects Offered as Part of Chapter 1 Services in Public Schools, 1985–86 and 1991–92

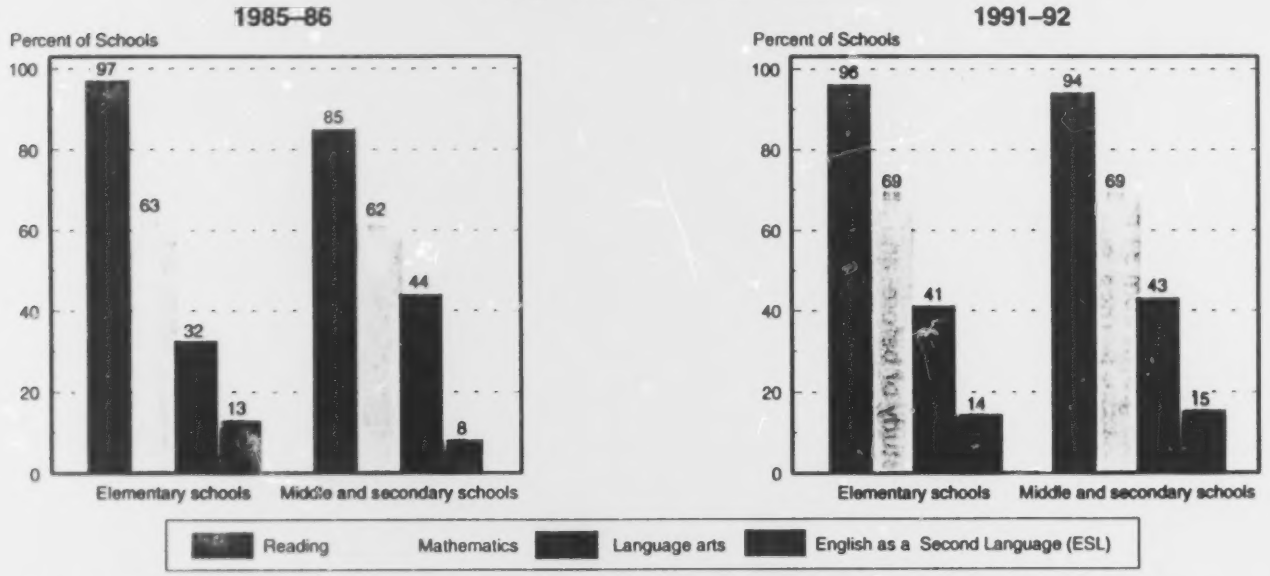


Exhibit reads: In 1991–92, 14 percent of Chapter 1 elementary schools offered English as a Second Language. Fifteen percent of Chapter 1 middle and secondary schools offered ESL, a rise from 1985–86.

Sources: Survey of Schools conducted for the Chapter 1 National Assessment (U.S. Department of Education, 1987); Chapter 1 in Public Schools: The Chapter 1 Implementation Study (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

some of their Chapter 1 services in limited pullout settings in 1991–92 (a drop from 84 percent in 1985–86). Since 1985–86 the percentage of schools offering in-class instruction has risen from 28 percent to 58 percent. The use of computer-assisted instruction has grown from 31 percent of all Chapter 1 elementary schools in 1988–89 to 51 percent in 1991–92. After-school and summertime extended learning opportunities are more common now but remain a small percentage of the models used (9 and 15 percent, respectively) (see exhibit 20) (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

A national study of before- and after-school programs indicates that low-income children are less likely to participate in such programs that can extend learning time. Approximately 21 percent of children attending programs sponsored by the public schools are low-income (i.e., they participate in subsidized lunch), a smaller percentage than their percentage in public school enrollment (36 percent). Three percent of before- and after-school programs receive at least some funding from Chapter 1. However, most rely on parent fees (Seppanen, Love, et al., 1993).

Recent years have seen an increase in the number of schools that offer a variety of Chapter 1 models. Indeed, 82 percent of Chapter 1 elementary schools offered more than one program design in 1991–92 (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

Elementary schools with poverty levels at or above 75 percent are less likely than schools with poverty levels below 35 percent to provide Chapter 1 instruction in reading/language arts through pullout instruction (60 percent versus 92 percent) and are more likely to provide in-class instruction with aides (44 percent versus 17 percent) (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993). In other words, the typical program design in high-poverty schools is a mixture of pullout instruction and in-class help from aides, while the typical program in lower-poverty Chapter 1 schools relies much more heavily on pullout instruction.

Exhibit 20
Chapter 1 Program Design in Elementary Schools, 1985–86 through 1991–92

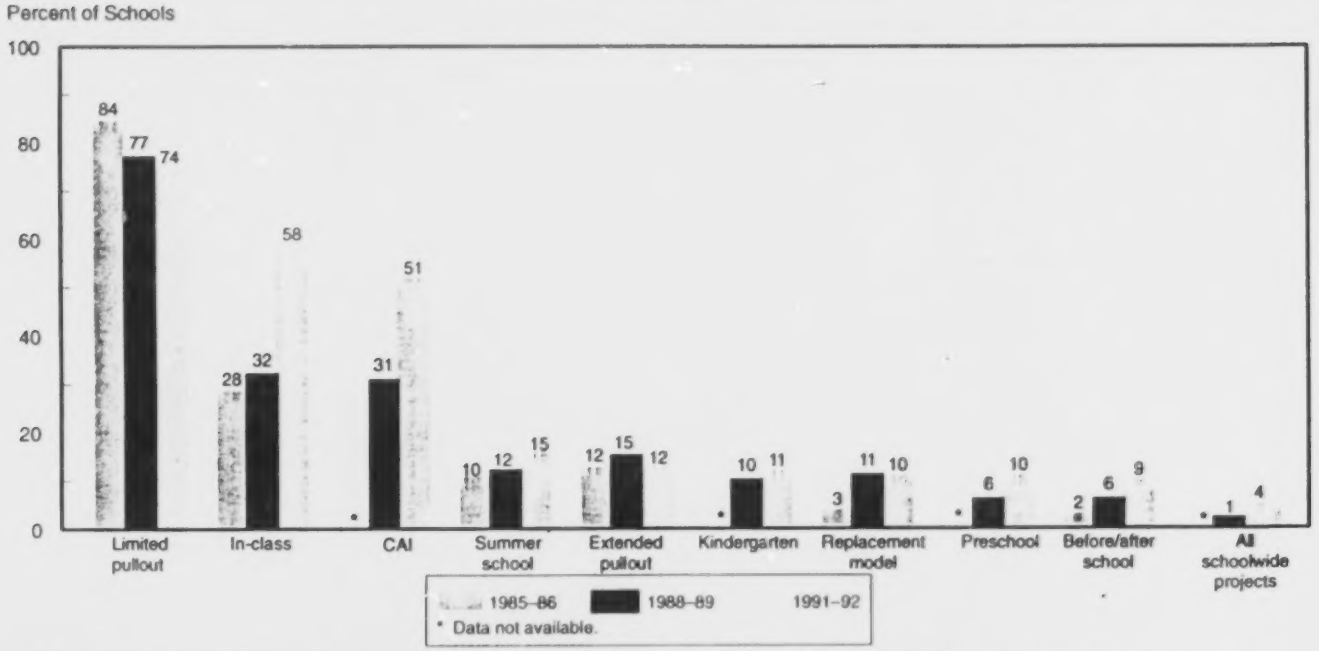


Exhibit reads: In 1991–92, 74 percent of elementary school principals reported using the pullout model in Chapter 1, compared with 84 percent six years earlier.

Sources: Survey of Schools conducted for the Chapter 1 National Assessment (U.S. Department of Education, 1987); Chapter 1 in Public Schools: The Chapter 1 Implementation Study (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

The debate over appropriate program design in Chapter 1 often centers on the distinction between pullout instruction (usually provided by specialists) and in-class instruction. Pullout arrangements are often criticized for stigmatizing students and contributing to instructional fragmentation. However, as illustrated by vignettes drawn from the Study of Academic Instruction for Disadvantaged Students (Knapp, Shields, & Turnbull, 1992), in-class settings may limit students' learning opportunities just as seriously as pullout settings (see exhibit 21). On the positive side, some high-quality instructional programs pull children out of their classes for intensive help from specialists; when carefully targeted and well executed, such interventions can be highly effective.

Time Spent in Instruction

Chapter 1 instruction is generally offered for 30 minutes a day, five days a week. However, it does not necessarily add a full half-hour to the regular classroom instruction that children receive. In the 1991–92 school year, 70 percent of elementary classroom teachers reported that students missed instruction in some academic subject during Chapter 1 reading/language arts instruction (see exhibit 22). Of this 70 percent, 56 percent indicated that students were missing regular reading/language arts activities during their Chapter 1 reading/language arts instruction (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993). On average, Chapter 1 contributes only about 10 additional minutes of academic instruction each day, consistent with findings from the earlier National Assessment.

Before- and after-school projects, although increasing somewhat in frequency, are still found in only 9 percent of Chapter 1

Exhibit 21
Many Ways to Limit Learning

Instruction that addresses students' skill deficits in a narrow, sequential fashion can be found in both pullout and in-class settings. In some elementary classes, students leave the room for low-level instruction; for example:

- Five second-graders receive language-arts instruction in a separate Chapter 1 classroom. Using the same basal reader as the rest of the class but lagging slightly behind their classmates, they have a program with a heavy focus on basic skills: spelling, vocabulary, phonics, and decoding. They do much less extended reading than the rest of the class and virtually no extended writing.

- A sixth-grade class has a Chapter 1 program in reading that serves 22 of the class's 30 students. In a pullout room, two teachers instruct the Chapter 1 students in rudimentary comprehension strategies (e.g., finding the main idea), the use of new vocabulary words, and phonics. Meanwhile, the other 8 students are reading and discussing novels with the regular teacher.

In other classrooms, low-level instruction comes right into the room:

- In a third-grade class, the teacher allows the instructional aide to choose which of the two reading groups she will work with. The aide usually chooses the lower group because she considers that group easier to prepare for. The two groups cover the same skills but work in different readers. The main difference in instruction, according to the observer, is that the teacher gives her students more creative and demanding activities while the aide is less sure about when or how to offer explanations.

- A first-grade class has a three-hour block of language arts instruction in the morning. Whole-class instruction is interspersed with small-group work, in which the regular teacher, regular aide, Chapter 1 teacher, and Chapter 1 aide each take one group. The teacher characterizes the Chapter 1 groups as providing "remediation for students with deficits in several skill areas."

Source: Study of Academic Instruction for Disadvantaged Students (Knapp, Shields, & Turnbull, 1992).

Exhibit 22
Main Activities Missed When Public Elementary Students Receive Chapter 1 Reading/Language Arts and Mathematics Services, as Reported by Classroom Teachers, 1991–92

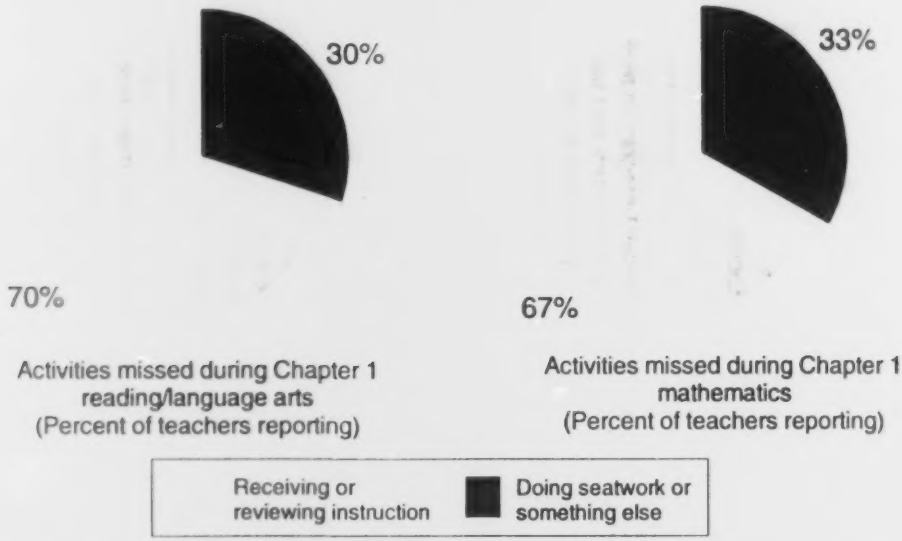


Exhibit reads: Seventy percent of classroom teachers report that students miss basic instruction when they receive Chapter 1 reading/language arts services.

Source: Chapter 1 in Public Schools: The Chapter 1 School Implementation Study (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

elementary schools, as exhibit 20 showed. The infrequent use of out-of-school time for Chapter 1 instruction differs from common practice in other countries, where remedial services and academic and cultural enrichment activities are available to students as extracurricular activities. These classes are held after school, on weekends, and over vacation periods (Stevenson, 1993).

Curriculum and Instruction

What kind of academic program do schools offer to Chapter 1 students? The answer to this question includes what skills students are taught, as well as the instructional methods teachers and aides employ. The Hawkins-Stafford Amendments emphasized the need to teach not only the basics of reading and mathematics but also "more advanced" skills. Yet basic skills continue to dominate Chapter 1 instruction. In the 1991–92 school year, 84 percent of elementary school teachers reported that basic skills drill and practice was a major focus of Chapter 1 reading instruction—nearly three times the 29 percent who said higher-order thinking skills were a major focus. The discrepancy was even greater in mathematics (see exhibit 23). The focus on mechanics and memorization found in traditional approaches to education for Chapter 1 students may unintentionally limit these students' access to challenging learning opportunities. In recent years, researchers have found that instructional practices that depart from the "conventional wisdom," as summarized in exhibit 24, can promote mastery of both basic and advanced skills for children at risk of academic failure (Knapp & Turnbull, 1990). One feature of alternative practice, the use of flexible grouping, poses a problem for Chapter 1 programs (other than in schoolwide projects, which are discussed in a later chapter). Restricted by law to serving the students with the greatest need,

Exhibit 23
Characterization of Chapter 1 Instruction Provided to Students, According to Elementary Classroom Teachers, 1991–92

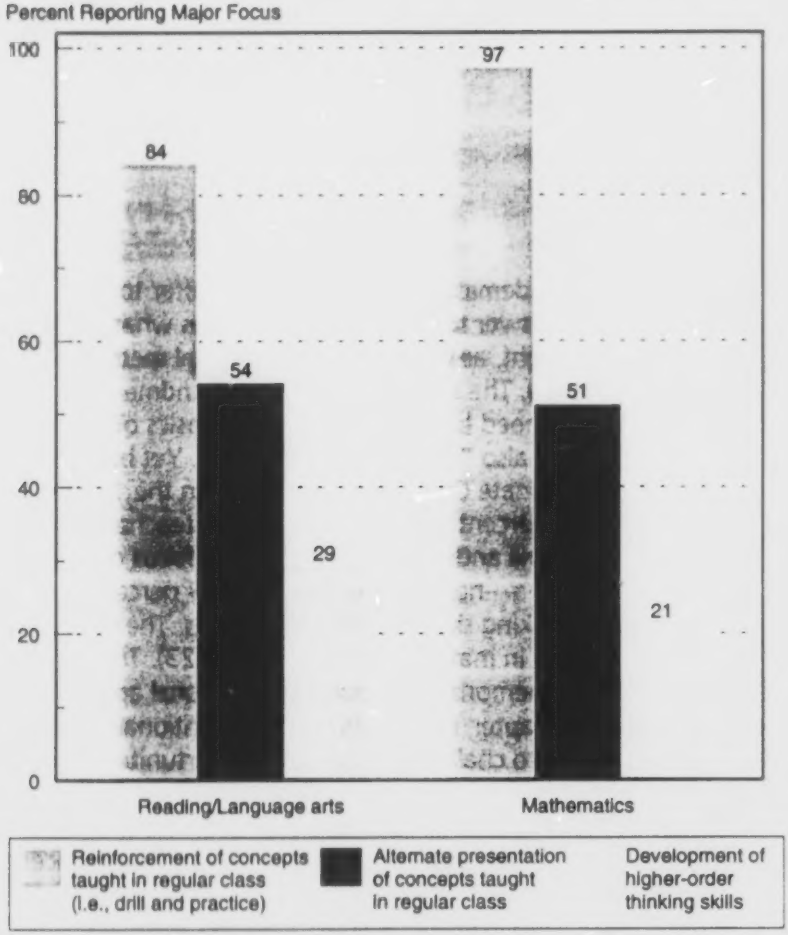


Exhibit reads: According to 84 percent of elementary classroom teachers, basic skills drill and practice is a major focus of Chapter 1 instruction in reading/language arts.

Source: Chapter 1 in Public Schools: The Chapter 1 Implementation Study (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

Exhibit 24
Alternatives to Conventional Wisdom

Conventional Wisdom	Alternatives
• An emphasis on learners' deficits—that is, what the "disadvantaged" student lacks in knowledge, intellectual facility, or experience	• An emphasis on the knowledge students bring to school
• Curriculum that teaches discrete skills in a fixed sequence from "basic" to "higher-order" skills	• Explicit teaching of how to function in the "culture" of the school • Early emphasis on appropriate "higher-order" tasks • Extensive opportunities to learn and apply skills in context • An emphasis on meaning and understanding in all academic instruction
• Exclusive or heavy reliance on teacher-directed instruction	• A combination of teacher-directed and learner-directed instruction
• Classroom management principles uniformly applied across the school day so as to forestall disorder in the classroom	• Variation in classroom management approaches depending on kind of academic work being done
• Long-term grouping of students by achievement or ability	• Some use of grouping arrangements that mix ability levels • More flexibility in grouping arrangements

Source: Study of Academic Instruction for Disadvantaged Students (Knapp & Turnbull, 1990).

these programs necessarily single out the participants in some way, whether in special settings or in their regular classrooms.

Coordination of Chapter 1 Services with the Regular Program

District Chapter 1 coordinators reported in the 1990–91 school year that the main method of coordinating Chapter 1 was to encourage Chapter 1 staff and classroom teachers to discuss instruction or students (Millsap, Turnbull, et al., 1992). In the 1991–92 school year, most classroom teachers (70 percent of elementary teachers and 72 percent of middle and secondary school teachers) reported that Chapter 1 staff participated in decisions on student progress in the regular school program (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993). When teachers were asked to rate the quality of coordination between Chapter 1 and regular instruction, 90 percent of elementary Chapter 1 teachers and 76 percent of elementary classroom teachers rated the coordination as good or excellent. Middle and high school teachers were less likely to rate the quality of coordination high (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

Group Size

The median number of Chapter 1 students served in both in-class and limited pullout settings, as reported by district coordinators, was four, about the same as the median of five students estimated by Chapter 1 teachers in 1985–86 (Millsap, Turnbull, et al., 1992). Research suggests that providing instruction to groups of this size can boost student performance (Glass & Smith, 1979). However, a critical ingredient is the teacher's use of methods that actually capitalize on the small size of the group, and data are not available to show how often this happens.

Grades Served by Chapter 1

Although 70 percent of Chapter 1 participants are found in the elementary grades, the program does serve students younger and older than these more typical participants (see exhibit 25).

Chapter 1 and Preschool Education

Over the past 12 years, the proportion of Chapter 1 students served in prekindergarten has increased from 1 to 2 percent; the proportion in kindergarten has increased from 5 to 7 percent. Approximately one-quarter of kindergarten programs in the public schools include Chapter 1 services. Chapter 1 services supplement early childhood services provided to disadvantaged children under a number of federal, state, and local program authorities, as well as private sponsorship. Complementing the increase in the number of children receiving Chapter 1 services in preschool and kindergarten has been an increase in Head Start participation, which rose from 450,000 children ages 3 to 5 in

Exhibit 25
Chapter 1 Participation by Grade Span, 1990–91

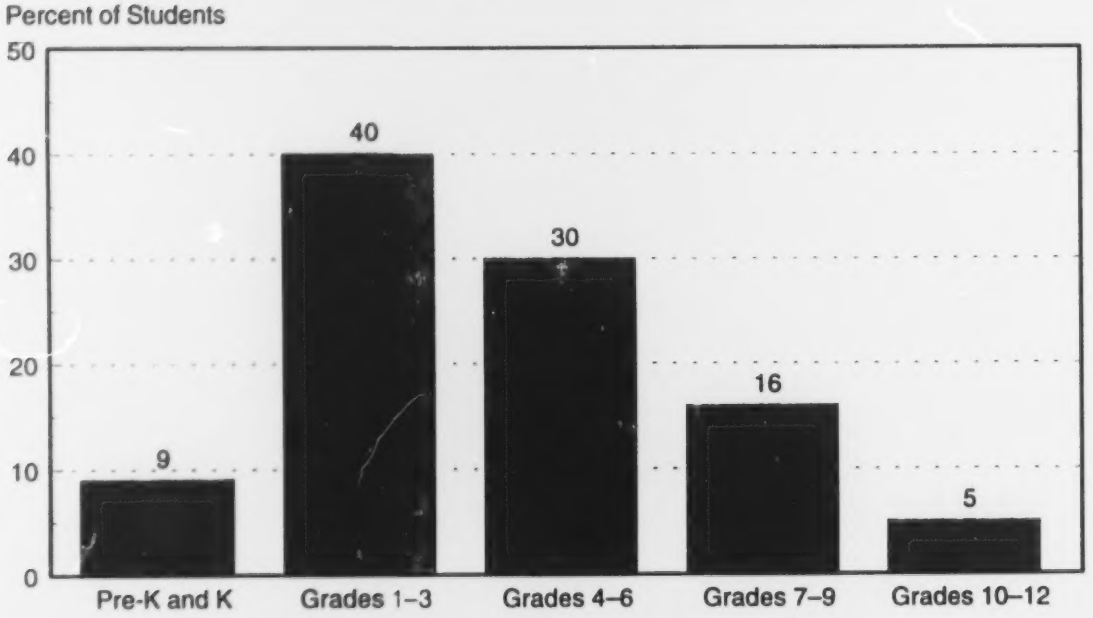


Exhibit reads: Chapter 1 participation is concentrated in the elementary grades with 70 percent of Chapter 1 students in grades 1–6.

Source: Summary of Chapter 1 Participation and Achievement Information, 1990–91, unpublished tabulations (Sinclair & Gutmann, 1993).

1985 to 620,000 children in 1991–92. More than 34 states fund preschool initiatives, primarily for at-risk children. In addition, school districts in all states are now required to offer kindergarten.

At the same time, however, low-income children are less likely than others to participate in early childhood education. According to parents' reports, 42 percent of 3- to 5-year-olds from families earning $10,000 or less were enrolled in preschool. By comparison, 75 percent of children from families earning over $75,000 participate in early childhood education (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1991a).

At present, the most common pattern of Chapter 1 service for preschool children is found in districts that do not offer a regular preschool program but use Chapter 1 to establish one. Chapter 1 funds are sometimes combined with state compensatory education monies to support such programs. Preschool students become eligible for these Chapter 1-funded programs on the basis of low performance on a "readiness" indicator or other screening device.

Most Chapter 1 preschools, like Head Start, are half-day programs. Although Chapter 1 permits comprehensive services like those found in Head Start programs, local Chapter 1 preschools typically provide them at a lower level than Head Start. Providing a wider array of services has recently been encouraged at the federal level (LeTendre, 1991).

Chapter 1 and Secondary Schools

The Hawkins-Stafford Amendments authorized a separate Chapter 1 program specifically for secondary school pupils—Part C, the Secondary School Program for Basic Skills Improvement and Dropout Prevention and Reentry. Because this program has never been funded, however, the basic program remains the vehicle for serving secondary school students.

In 1990–91, Chapter 1 students enrolled in grades 9–12 accounted for just over 9 percent (483,000) of the total Chapter 1 population (Sinclair & Gutmann, 1993). Reasons for the low secondary school participation include district officials' preference for using Chapter 1 in elementary schools as an early intervention, and the reluctance of high school students to participate in Chapter 1 classes for which they receive no credit (Zeldin et al., 1991). This reluctance appears most often when Chapter 1 supports high school courses focusing on remedial reading and mathematics.

In addition to instruction, Chapter 1 services in secondary schools include teachers' and counselors' efforts to motivate students to learn by building students' self-confidence and demonstrating links between academic performance and the fulfillment of personal goals (Zeldin et al., 1991). Although these activities are important, recent research shows that disadvantaged youth need a comprehensive program of challenging courses, high standards, career counseling, and related support services (Phelps et al., in press).

Services to LEP Students

By law, Chapter 1 programs are required to distinguish between educational deprivation and limited English proficiency when determining eligibility:

> ***Children receiving services to overcome a handicapping condition or limited English proficiency shall also be eligible to receive services under this part, if they have needs stemming from educational deprivation and***

> ***not related solely to the handicapping condition or limited English proficiency. Such children shall be selected on the same basis as other children identified as eligible for and selected to receive services under this part. Funds under this part may not be used to provide services that are otherwise required by law to be made available to such children*** **(Section 1014[d][1]).**

The regulations and the Chapter 1 policy manual state that LEP children can receive Chapter 1 services, but that Chapter 1 funds may not be used to provide the supplemental educational services for LEP children that districts are required by law to provide. The Chapter 1 program is to address children's educational deprivation, not their lack of English-language proficiency. In practice, however, educational deprivation and limited English proficiency are often indistinguishable (Strang & Carlson, 1992). Existing standardized tests and selection procedures generally cannot distinguish whether errors are caused by a lack of skills or a lack of English proficiency, and remediation of the former would seem to require improving the latter.

The extent to which LEP students are excluded from Chapter 1 services is not clear. According to a nationally representative study of Chapter 1 schools, 94 percent of elementary school principals who have LEP students report that district policies do not prevent those students from receiving Chapter 1 services (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993). According to case study evidence (Strang & Carlson, 1992), some districts require LEP students to achieve oral language proficiency before being considered eligible for Chapter 1. Because the process of achieving English proficiency can take several years, students may by then have reached a grade at which Chapter 1 services are no longer provided. Furthermore, the many districts that exempt LEP students from the routine administration of standardized tests may therefore fail to identify these students for Chapter 1 services.

Chapter 1 Instructional Staff

Approximately 72,000 full-time-equivalent (FTE) Chapter 1 teachers and 65,000 FTE Chapter 1 aides make up the Chapter 1 instructional staff across the country. In the 1985–86 school year, there were approximately 69,000 teachers and 59,000 aides (Sinclair & Gutmann, 1993). During the intervening years, the numbers dropped as funding declined but they have recovered since.

The quality of these teachers and teacher aides is critical to the effectiveness of Chapter 1. Chapter 1 teachers, at least in the elementary grades, now have higher academic credentials than their regular classroom counterparts. The assessment of Chapter 1 six years ago found that Chapter 1 teachers had virtually the same academic attainment as classroom teachers in the regular program, but between 1985–86 and 1991–92 the proportion of Chapter 1 teachers with a master's degree and above increased from 51 percent to 62 percent. Correspondingly, the proportion with only a bachelor's degree has dropped from 21 percent to 12 percent (see exhibit 26) (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

Chapter 1 teachers compare favorably with regular classroom teachers, according to principals. Some 37 percent of the Chapter 1 school principals rated the quality of Chapter 1 teachers as higher than that of the average classroom teacher, while 62 percent rated them about the same (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

Chapter 1 teachers are not the only providers of Chapter 1 services. A significant amount of Chapter 1 instruction depends on the content knowledge and instructional skill of the instructional aides, who account for about half of all Chapter 1 staff. In the 1990–91 school year, 63 percent of aides provided instruction when supervised by a Chapter 1 teacher; 20 percent

Exhibit 26
Educational Attainment of Chapter 1 and Regular Teachers in Public Chapter 1 Elementary Schools, 1985–86 and 1991–92

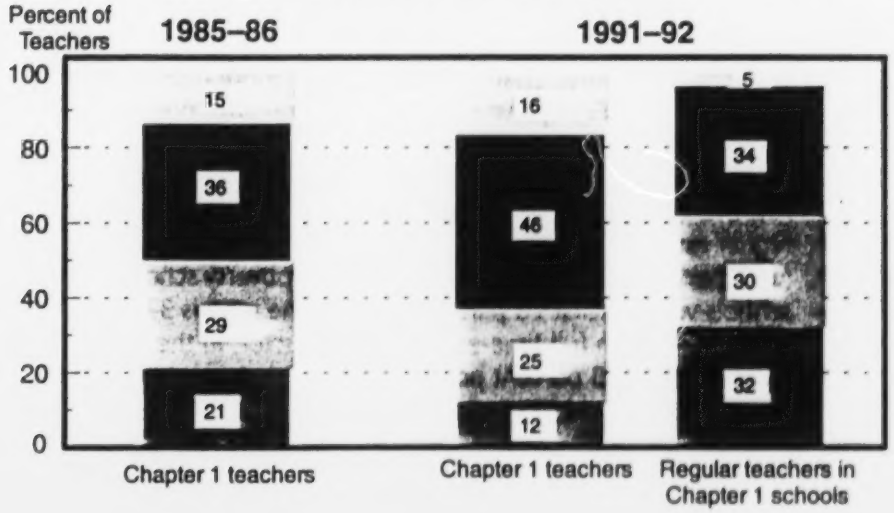


Exhibit reads: Of Chapter 1 teachers in public elementary schools in 1991–92, 62 percent had a graduate degree, compared with 39 percent of regular teachers in Chapter 1 schools.

Note: Figures may not add to 100 due to rounding.

Sources: Chapter 1 in Public Schools: The Chapter 1 Implementation Study (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993); Survey of Schools Conducted for the Chapter 1 National Assessment (U.S. Department of Education, 1987).

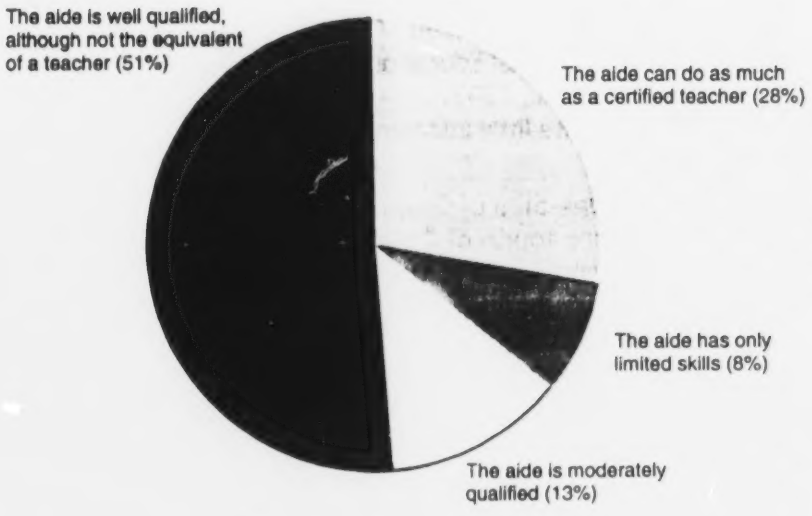
provided instruction on their own, without the supervision of a Chapter 1 teacher or regular classroom teacher (Millsap, Turnbull, et al., 1992). Most Chapter 1 aides in elementary schools have only a high school diploma. Only 13 percent have a B.A. or B.S., and just 4 percent have more advanced formal education (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

The highest-poverty Chapter 1 schools rely more heavily on aides for instruction. Eighty-five percent of schools with poverty levels at or above 75 percent use aides for instruction, compared with 62 percent of schools with poverty levels below 35 percent. Another difference in program staffing across schools is the higher ratio of Chapter 1 students to Chapter 1 instructors (whether aides or teachers) in the highest-poverty schools. In the schools with at least 75 percent poverty, the ratio is 37 Chapter 1 students to each full-time-equivalent instructor; in the schools with less than 35 percent poverty, the ratio is 24 to 1 (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

Case studies have found that aides are often used in ways that conflict with the goals of active learning and problem solving: they "help" students by providing answers and giving directions that foster dependency on the part of students; teachers may regard aides as best suited for low-level skills instruction and design their tasks accordingly (Knapp, Shields, & Turnbull, 1992; Talbert, 1992). When asked about the aides' qualifications for their Chapter 1 assignments, classroom teachers give a mixed report (see exhibit 27). Although most teachers call their aides "well qualified," 72 percent note that the aides' skills are not equivalent to those of a teacher. This is not surprising, given the limited educational backgrounds of aides, but it is a concern when aides are instructing students.

Teachers and aides providing Chapter 1 ESL services are less likely than non-Chapter 1 personnel providing supplementary LEP services to have specialist credentials in English as a Second Language (ESL) or bilingual education (Strang & Carlson, 1992).

Exhibit 27
Elementary Classroom Teachers' Assessment of In-Class Chapter 1 Instructional Aides


The aide is well qualified, although not the equivalent of a teacher (51%)
The aide can do as much as a certified teacher (28%)
The aide has only limited skills (8%)
The aide is moderately qualified (13%)

Percent of Teachers
in Reading/Language Arts

Exhibit reads: Approximately half of elementary classroom teachers thought that Chapter 1 aides were well qualified but not equivalent to teachers.

Source: Chapter 1 in Public Schools: The Chapter 1 Implementation Study (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

According to data from the Prospects study, at grade 1 overall, 39 percent of Chapter 1 teachers providing ESL services are certified in ESL. In high-poverty schools, 54 percent of the Chapter 1 ESL teachers are certified in ESL (Abt Associates, 1993).

Although Chapter 1 currently supports professional development, the amount provided to each teacher and the design of this professional development offer little promise of contributing to ambitious National Education Goals. Surveys of teachers (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993) show that instructional staff in Chapter 1 schools receive little intensive staff development:

- One-third of Chapter 1 elementary teachers and one-fourth of Chapter 1 secondary teachers had 35 or more hours of staff development over the past 12 months (including the summer). Only one-fourth of regular classroom teachers had 35 or more hours of staff development.

- Teachers report receiving staff development on multiple topics, but the amount of time spent on each topic ranges from only 3 to 6 hours per year.

- Chapter 1 elementary aides receive much less staff development than do Chapter 1 elementary teachers; 9 percent of aides participate for more than 35 hours, compared with 32 percent of Chapter 1 teachers.

The Effects of Chapter 1 on Student Achievement

As shown earlier, Chapter 1 participants' scores ranked them in the bottom fourth of U.S. students in reading and math. Although the Prospects study has assessed student performance at only two points in time for the third- and seventh-grade cohorts, it does provide an indication of the extent to which Chapter 1 is closing the learning gap between participants and other students. Tests administered to the same students in the spring of 1991 and the spring of 1992 show meager progress among the Chapter 1 participants. Indeed, the percentile ranking of Chapter 1 participants improved only among the seventh-grade cohort in reading: Chapter 1 students' scores dropped slightly relative to national norms among participants from the third-grade cohort both in reading and math, and among the seventh-grade cohort in math (Abt Associates, 1993) (see exhibits 28, 29, 30, and 31).

These data are far different from the gains generally reported by state education agencies to the Department through their Chapter 1 state performance reports. For each grade level, state achievement data show percentile gains for students tested on an annual cycle. These improvements appear more marked at the earlier grades; for example, pretest scores in basic reading skills of Chapter 1 participants in third grade averaged at the 20th percentile and posttest scores averaged at the 25th percentile, thus showing a gain of 5 percentile points (Sinclair & Gutmann, 1993).

In order to compare Chapter 1 participants with a more appropriate comparison group, the Prospects scores of compensatory education students were compared with those of similar students matched on 60 background variables to control for family socioeconomic status and prior achievement. The findings suggest that there were minimal differences in the gains

Exhibit 28
Reading Scores, Third to Fourth Grade, of All Students and Chapter 1 Participants

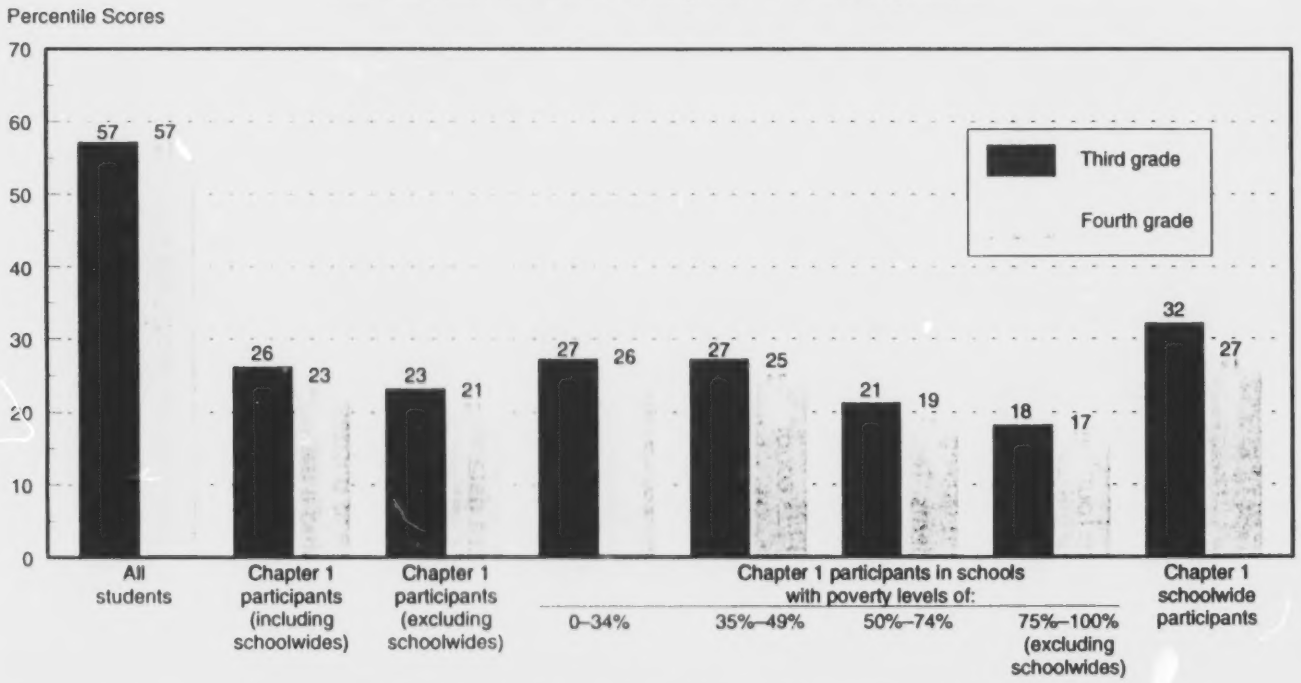


Exhibit reads: The reading scores for Chapter 1 participants in the third and fourth grades were in the bottom quarter for students nationally. Chapter 1 students in high-poverty schools had the lowest scores.

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

Exhibit 29
Math Scores, Third to Fourth Grade, of All Students and Chapter 1 Participants

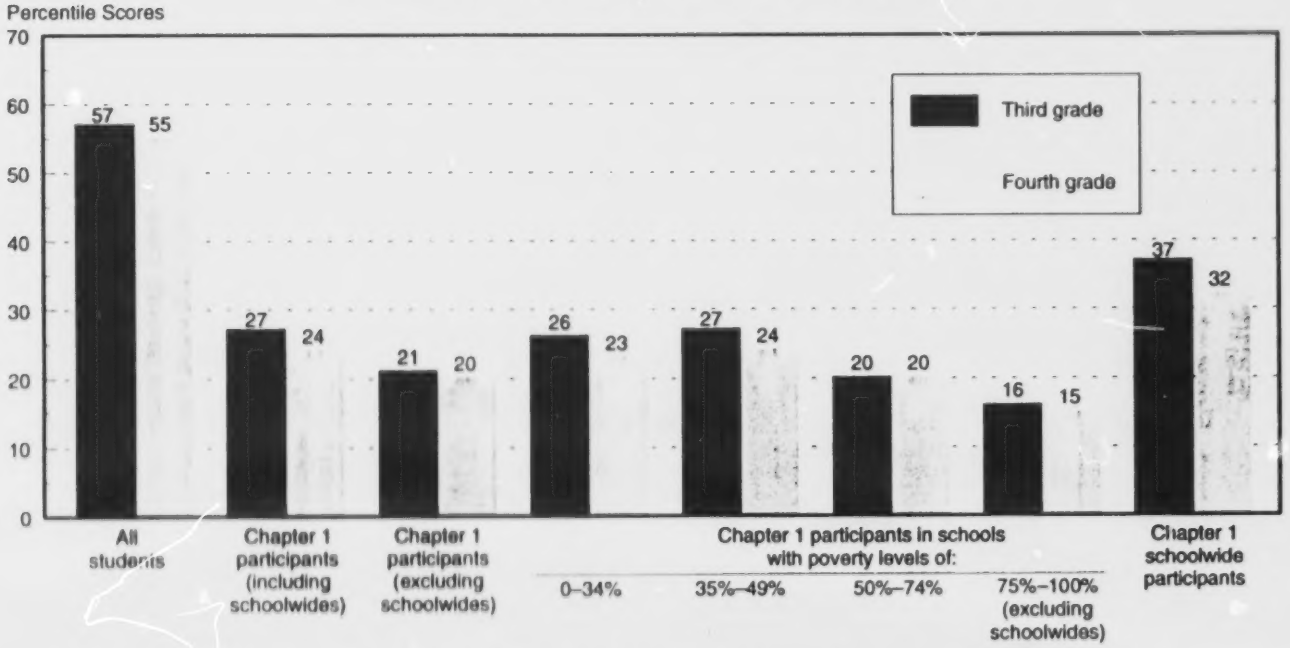


Exhibit reads: Chapter 1 participants in the third and fourth grades scored among the bottom quarter of all students nationally on math standardized tests. Their relative standing did not improve from third to the fourth grade. Performance was lowest among Chapter 1 participants in high-poverty schools.

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

Exhibit 30
Reading Scores, Seventh to Eighth Grade, of All Students and Chapter 1 Participants

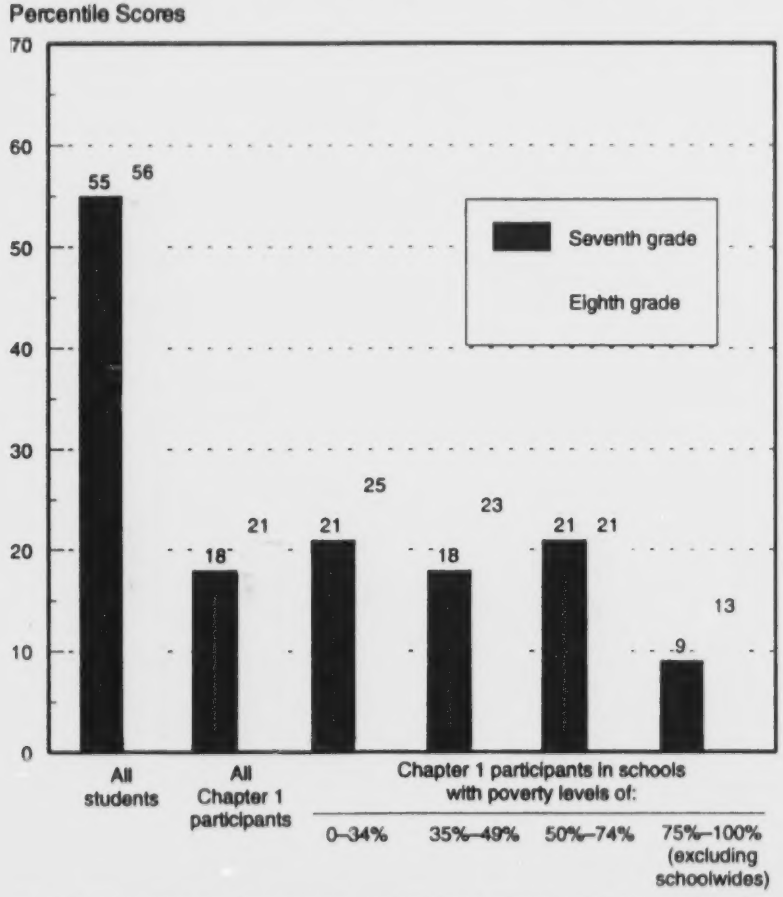


Exhibit reads: The reading scores for Chapter 1 participants in the seventh and eighth grades were in the bottom quarter for students nationally, although the scores generally improved from seventh to eighth grade. Despite this improvement, Chapter 1 participants in the highest poverty schools scored only at the 13th percentile.

Source: Prospects (Abt. Associates, 1993).

Exhibit 31
Math Scores, Seventh to Eighth Grade, of All Students and Chapter 1 Participants

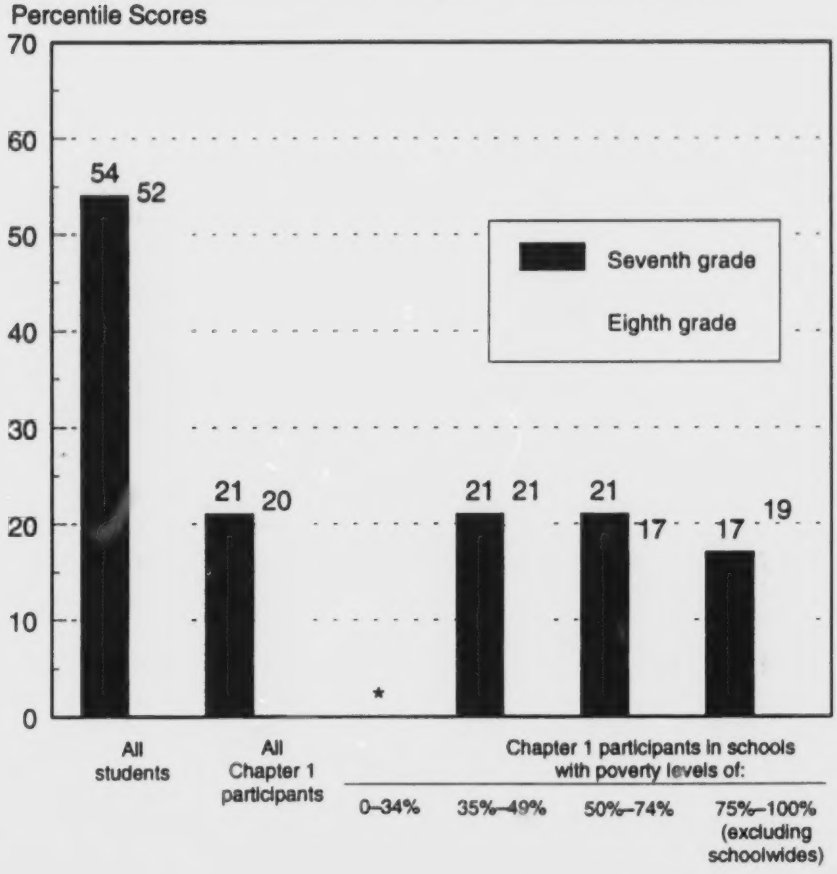


Exhibit reads: Chapter 1 participants in seventh and eighth grade scored in math among the bottom quarter of students nationally. Chapter 1 participants generally did not improve except in the highest poverty schools.

* Sample too small to report.

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

between the compensatory education participants and matched nonparticipants among the third-grade and seventh-grade cohorts. Similar results were found on both the norm-referenced tests and the criterion-referenced objectives. The analysis concludes that when preexisting differences are controlled, program participation did not seem to significantly reduce the achievement gap. Analysis on the first grade cohort must await further data collection (Abt Associates, 1993).

These preliminary findings from the Prospects study differ somewhat from the results of the Sustaining Effects Study in the late 1970s. The earlier longitudinal study found that Chapter 1 students gained more than comparably disadvantaged students on most measures. Yet the Prospects study's results clearly reiterate the main finding from the Sustaining Effects Study that the gains of Chapter 1 participants did not match the progress of a representative sample of all students generally. The fundamental conclusion of the previous national assessment of Chapter 1 conducted in 1986 still stands, that "the gains of Chapter 1 students do not move them substantially toward the achievement levels of more advantaged students" (Kennedy et al., 1986).

Program participation does not appear to significantly reduce the test score gap for disadvantaged students. When combined with the results on the poor performance of high-poverty schools generally, the lack of gains in Chapter 1 student performance points out the current inadequacy of schools in improving, in any large measure, the educational prospects of disadvantaged students. Chapter 1 support for these schools has extended over several years, yet it has not appreciably improved the average performance of high-poverty schools.

Chapter 1, as a supplementary program, adds only marginally to learning time and continues to emphasize basic skills instruction. It cannot be expected to significantly enhance learning opportunities in schools that serve disadvantaged children. The

adoption of the National Education Goals for all children underscores the need to rethink the way Chapter 1 operates in the context of reforming education generally.

(For more information on the provision of Chapter 1 services, see the supplementary descriptive volume on this topic; for a discussion on serving secondary students in Chapter 1, refer to the supplementary volume on developing a secondary school strategy.)

Schoolwide Projects

- Between one-quarter and one-third of the 9,000 eligible schools had adopted a schoolwide model in 1991–92; almost half of the principals of eligible schools indicated they were unaware of the option.
- For the most part, schoolwide projects are not undertaking fundamental instructional reforms; rather, they pursue more incremental and administrative changes such as lowering class size.
- Schoolwide projects that choose to assign Chapter 1 teachers to regular classrooms reduce their average class size from 27 to 19 students.
- It is premature to assess the effectiveness of schoolwide projects because the evaluation and anecdotal evidence is mixed.
- Conditions necessary for implementing successful schoolwide projects include a supportive central office, intensive staff development, and time.

Chapter 4
Schoolwide Projects

The previous chapter focused on the instructional services supported by targeted Chapter 1 programs—those that serve selected students within a school. In schools with poverty rates of at least 75 percent, Chapter 1 funds may support schoolwide projects that serve all students in a school. Congress authorized schoolwide projects as a way to address the pervasive educational problems often found in the highest-poverty schools. This chapter describes the characteristics of schoolwide projects and assesses their effectiveness.

Legislative Background of Schoolwide Projects

The authorization for schoolwide projects first appeared in the 1978 amendments to Title I. The original idea drew on research of effective schools, which pointed to the value of a buildingwide focus on educational goals as a way of improving outcomes for individual students. Originally, the state education agency and the district parent advisory council had to approve the project plan, and the district had to contribute extra state and local funds to the school.

The Hawkins-Stafford Amendments permit districts to operate schoolwide projects without contributing extra funds from their regular budget. However, the amendments require that schoolwide projects demonstrate that Chapter 1-eligible students are benefiting from the program. Schoolwide projects must show that those students who would qualify for Chapter 1 services under a conventional design perform at a level that is (1) higher than the level in other Chapter 1 schools in the district or (2) higher than the level the school experienced before it had a schoolwide project. There is also a requirement for planning with parents, although a parents' group no longer has sign-off authority. Thus, while the removal of the matching requirement makes it easier for districts to adopt schoolwide projects, the requirements for accountability, parental participation, and state approval are meant to impose checks on projects that may be poorly designed.

Participation

Schoolwide projects operate only in public schools. However, private school students who live in the schoolwide project attendance area and are identified as educationally deprived must be provided Chapter 1 services for the same grades that are served in the schoolwide project school.

Schoolwide projects have gained in popularity. In 1988–89, the year before full implementation of the Hawkins-Stafford Amendments, there were about 200 schoolwide projects. In the following year (1989–90), the number more than tripled (Turnbull, Zeldin, & Cain, 1990); two years later, in 1991–92, the number had more than tripled again. Of the approximately 9,000

schools eligible on the basis of 75 percent or more poverty, more than 2,000 now operate schoolwide projects (Schenck, in press).

Still, of the schools that were eligible to participate in 1991–92, only one-quarter to one-third adopted the model. According to Millsap, Moss, & Gamse (1993), 45 percent of principals in the eligible elementary schools in 1991–92 were unaware of the schoolwide project option. Apparently these principals were not informed of the option by their school district—which, in turn, may have received little or no information from the state education agency.

Of those principals who knew of the option but were not operating a schoolwide project, 57 percent said they were still considering the option. The most commonly stated reason for not operating a schoolwide project was a preference for continuing to target Chapter 1 services (38 percent). A few principals reported that district staff had discouraged the use of the schoolwide option (7 percent) or that they found the planning requirements cumbersome (6 percent). Only 3 percent of those who did not choose to operate a schoolwide project said that the accountability requirements discouraged them from doing so (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

Scope of Activities

According to principals' reports (Schenck, in press), schoolwide projects have allowed schools to strengthen a large number of existing activities, programs, or strategies; less often, they have been the occasion for introducing new activities. When the activities "introduced" are combined with those "significantly strengthened" in schoolwide projects, education for parents, staff

development, and computer-assisted instruction have all reportedly received significant new emphasis in at least three-quarters of these projects. More than half of the projects have introduced or strengthened a coordinated and integrated curriculum, provided supplemental instruction for low-achieving students, and reduced class size.

Case studies have found that, for instructional purposes, the shift to a schoolwide project usually means reduction in regular class size, reduction or elimination of pullout programs, increased staff development, and distribution of Chapter 1 materials to all students (Stringfield et al., 1992). Nationally, the average reduction in class size is from 27 children to 19, as reported by principals of schoolwide projects (Schenck, in press). The typical schoolwide project that reduced class size did so in more than half of the grades served by the school. This is a significant reduction. Whether reductions in class size of this magnitude can produce better student outcomes is subject to debate among researchers, but administrators and teachers clearly support this option (Tomlinson, 1988).

The lack of instructional reform in schoolwide projects is borne out in survey findings from all principals operating schoolwide projects in school year 1991–92. The main reasons for establishing a schoolwide project were to have more flexibility in service delivery or instructional groupings (86 percent), to coordinate the Chapter 1 program better with the total school program (57 percent), and to have more discretion in the use of Chapter 1 funds (46 percent). However, when principals were asked what they perceived as the main advantages of schoolwide projects, their top responses were to serve more students, to meet students' needs, and to reduce class size. District coordinators' top responses also appear to relate to school management changes: to serve more students, to improve the scheduling of services, and to make better use of materials and equipment. In neither the reasons for establishing schoolwide projects nor the advantages of operating schoolwide projects was

basic instructional reform or improvement of student outcomes cited as a top factor. Indeed, as illustrated in exhibit 32, among all the principals' reasons for schoolwide projects, increasing student achievement ranked 17th. Factors affecting administrative convenience clearly took precedence (Schenck, in press).

Although most principals reported a significant strengthening of staff development under a schoolwide project, the average amount of time spent in staff development by a teacher in a schoolwide project, 29 hours over a 12-month period (Schenck, in press), does not greatly exceed the average amount for teachers in conventional Chapter 1 schools, which is 23 hours (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

Issues with Implementation

Winfield (1992) suggests that schools with more successful schoolwide projects have taken several important steps that distinguish them from less successful ones. This analysis shows that the more successful schoolwide projects have implemented schoolwide decision making, created effective working plans for improvement, integrated other existing categorical programs into a coherent instructional program for all children, allocated available resources more effectively, provided ongoing support to classroom teachers, learned how to monitor program effectiveness better, and instituted instructional reforms for their disadvantaged student population. Descriptions of innovative schoolwide projects can be found in exhibits 33 and 34.

Despite the administrative flexibility provided by Chapter 1 in schoolwide projects, the inability to blend funds from all sources because of other programs' eligibility restrictions may inhibit

Exhibit 32
The Major Advantages of Having a Schoolwide Project, According to Schoolwide Project Schools and Districts with Schoolwide Projects

Major Advantages	Percentages	
	Schools (N=1,886)	Districts (N=431)
Can serve more students; all students in school benefit	35	39
Student needs can be met more effectively	31	28
Smaller class size; reduced student/teacher ratio	31	19
More flexible, better use of materials and equipment	26	32
Improved scheduling of services; heterogeneous grouping	25	34
More resources available for materials and services	24	11
Can try different teaching strategies; improved instruction	20	14
More resources for professional development of all teachers	20	19
Greater flexibility in staffing; improved use of existing staff	18	21
Better coordination of services and classes; shared responsibility	17	23
More resources for greater parent and community involvement	16	19
Shared decision making; teachers have more say; team building	13	24
Improved school climate; improved student self-esteem	12	14
Students are not labelled	12	21
Decentralization; schools assume more responsibility	8	9
Eliminates problems and barriers with categorical programs	6	14
Increased student achievement	5	4
More productive, long-term planning; opportunity to restructure	4	5
Less recordkeeping; reduced paperwork	3	4

(continued)

Exhibit 32 (continued)

Major Advantages	Percentages	
	Schools (N=1,886)	Districts (N=431)
Improved perception of school in community	2	3
Better understanding of and attitudes toward Chapter 1	1	7
Other	8	9
No response	12	6

Exhibit reads: Over one-third (35%) of the schoolwide project schools reported as a major advantage the idea that more students can be served or that all students in the school benefit. Thirty-nine percent of districts with schoolwide projects reported serving more students as a major advantage.

Source: Schenck (in press).

Exhibit 33
Lingelbach Elementary School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Judging from steadily climbing standardized test scores, Lingelbach Elementary School has one of Philadelphia's top schoolwide Chapter 1 projects. This K–5 school enrolls 370 students, of whom almost 99 percent are African-American, and 78 percent participate in subsidized lunch. The school's offerings include two Head Start classes, two full-day kindergartens, and grades 1–5.

Lingelbach's staff integrate special support services into the regular program so that every student in the school is given enriched, engaging opportunities to learn. Small class sizes, classroom aides, and resource teachers who work with students in regular classes promote achievement of regular class objectives by all students. An after-school "homework club" gives homeless and latchkey children a safe and orderly place to complete their school assignments. A program support teacher monitors attendance, advises teachers, and tutors the lowest-achieving students. The Pupil Support Committee designs individual programs for troubled students and follows their progress carefully, adjusting services as changing circumstances require.

Parents are invited to monthly "authors' teas" where students read their publications aloud. Students publish literary magazines and dramatize and produce video programs as part of their study of thematic units. Lingelbach is Philadelphia's first pilot site for the Reading Recovery program, in which specially trained teachers work one-on-one with students who have the most severe reading deficiencies. In math, the use of manipulatives improves concept learning, and "I Can Problem Solve" (ICPS) improves applications of concepts and computer skills.

Local university faculty and students train teachers on new strategies for literature-based reading lessons and uses of computers to promote growth in students' critical-thinking skills. A senior citizens' group sends volunteers weekly to tutor and read aloud to students.

In the past three years, Lingelbach students' scores on standardized tests have risen almost 18 normal curve equivalent (NCE) points in math and 9 in reading. Attendance has risen from 85 percent to 93 percent, on average.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, 1992c.

Exhibit 34
Killip Elementary School
Flagstaff, Arizona

"Together We Can Do It" is the theme of the schoolwide project at this K–6 school where 76 percent of the students qualify for subsidized lunch. The project was initiated in 1990 after a year of intensive planning by parents and the entire school staff, which included needs assessment surveys (for parents, teachers, the librarian, counselors, and nurses), meetings with parents, goal setting, project design, and staff development.

The most ambitious part of the planning, however, was the school's decision to set its own standards for curriculum and instruction. Each grade-level team was asked to identify master curriculum objectives in language arts (one of the identified priorities). After finding that some objectives overlapped and others showed low expectations for student achievement, the faculty as a whole developed a new set of curriculum expectations based on a combination of the state's Essential Skills framework, teacher-defined student needs, and the current district curriculum. At each grade level, teachers specified what students should know and be able to do by the end of that grade; in addition, the standards were aligned from one grade level to another. The process included long discussions about how children acquire skills and knowledge and about the particular needs of Chapter 1 children.

Other aspects of the project design include new instructional strategies such as cooperative learning, use of hands-on activities, and peer tutoring; reduced class size; the use of "intervention specialists" to help children with specific instructional goals daily, as needed; a parental involvement program, including a mentor program that trains parents to help other parents understand the importance of school attendance, homework, and positive behavioral expectations; and a partnership with Northern Arizona University's Literacy Block program under which university students work with Killip teachers to develop effective language arts lessons.

Test scores from the first two years of the project are encouraging. With the exception of an initial loss on second-grade tests (possibly because the test was not coordinated with the curriculum), the first-year results were positive, and were reinforced by across-the-board gains in the second year.

Source: RMC Research (1992).

major reform efforts. For example, children participating in migrant or bilingual education programs or in federal programs for disabled children continue to receive specific services. Among the obstacles or problems reported in applying to be a schoolwide project, "disagreement on how to structure the schoolwide project" was most often reported by schools in districts with LEP proportions above 50 percent (reported in 24 percent of such schools). And LEP students constitute more than half of the school enrollment in just over one-tenth of schoolwide projects (Schenck, in press).

The Effects of Schoolwide Projects on Student Achievement

It is premature to judge the effectiveness of schoolwide projects in improving student performance because so few projects have completed their initial three-year evaluation. Preliminary information suggests that results differ across studies.

According to SEA coordinators, there are 199 projects in 22 states that compose the first group of projects following the enactment of Hawkins-Stafford that should have conducted a three-year evaluation. However, only 114 schools—about 7 percent of the schools qualifying as schoolwide projects—have been assessed at the end of three years' participation as a schoolwide project. Approximately 10 percent of these schools failed to show the achievement gains required for continuation as a schoolwide project (Turnbull, Wechsler, et al., 1992).

About 84 percent of principals who have operated schoolwide projects for three years (125 out of 149) report that most

evidence favors the schoolwide project. Indeed, 42 percent of this group reported that the evidence increasingly favored the schoolwide project over time, 16 percent reported that the evidence favoring the schoolwide project was about the same each year, and 15 percent reported that the evidence was based only on the last year in the three-year period. A majority of schoolwide projects (60 percent) used as their comparison group Chapter 1 students in the same school for the previous three-year period (Schenck, in press).

Preliminary longitudinal results of outcome data are mixed for students participating in 40 schoolwide projects in the Philadelphia school district between the 1986–87 and 1990–91 school years—compared with students in 20 other Chapter 1 schools close to the eligibility threshold (Winfield & Hawkins, 1992). And, in case studies of special instructional strategies implemented on a schoolwide basis, great variability in project implementation existed both within programs and across programs, so that judgments on effectiveness were inconclusive (Stringfield et al., 1992).

According to data from the Prospects study, the percentile scores of students in Chapter 1 schoolwide programs in both reading and math are, in general, higher than the scores for Chapter 1 students in nonschoolwide programs and resemble the average scores of all students in high-poverty schools. However, as students move from third grade to the fourth grade, the scores of students in schoolwide projects decreases slightly more than those for Chapter 1 students in nonschoolwide projects and for students on average in high-poverty schools. Furthermore, while the performance of Chapter 1 participants in schools with 75 to 100 percent poverty generally declined by only one percentile, scores of students in schoolwide projects declined by 5 percentile points (see exhibits 35 and 36) (Abt Associates, 1993).

(For more information on schoolwide projects, see the supplementary descriptive volume on Chapter 1.)

Exhibit 35
Reading Scores, Third to Fourth Grade, of Chapter 1 Participants and Chapter 1 Schoolwide Project Participants

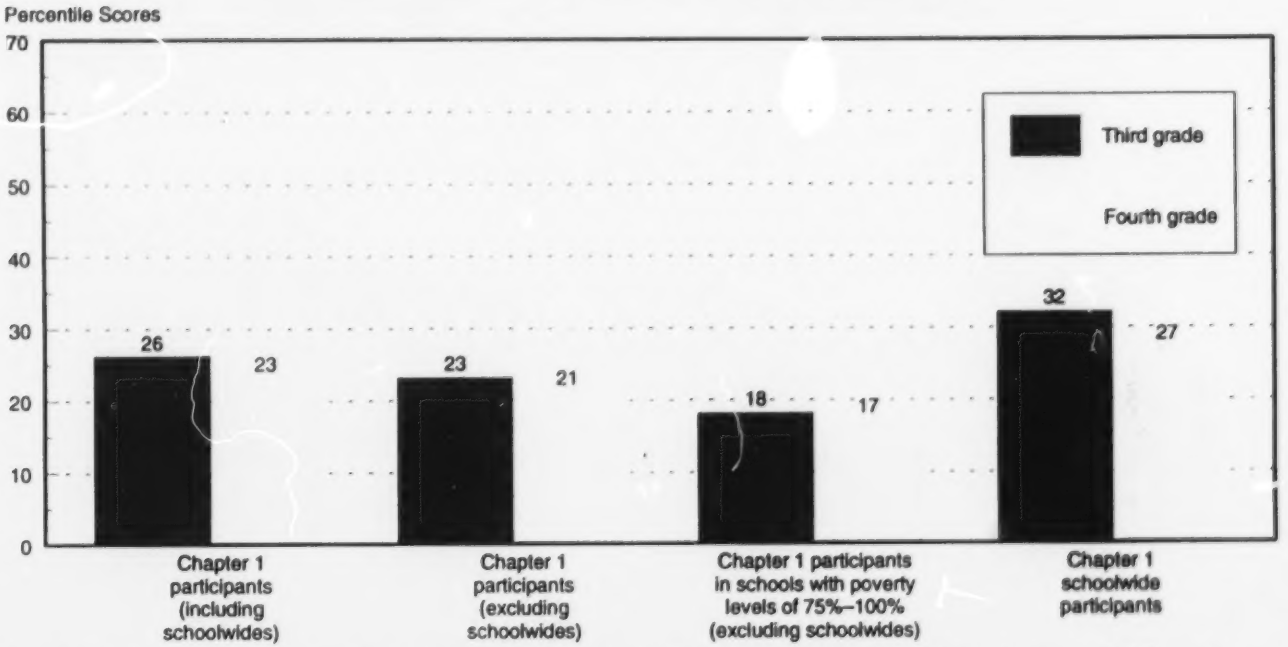


Exhibit reads: The reading scores for Chapter 1 schoolwide participants in the third and fourth grades exceeded those for all Chapter 1 participants. While higher than Chapter 1 scores in general, they also experienced a decline.

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

Exhibit 36
Math Scores, Third to Fourth Grade, of Chapter 1 Participants and Chapter 1 Schoolwide Project Participants

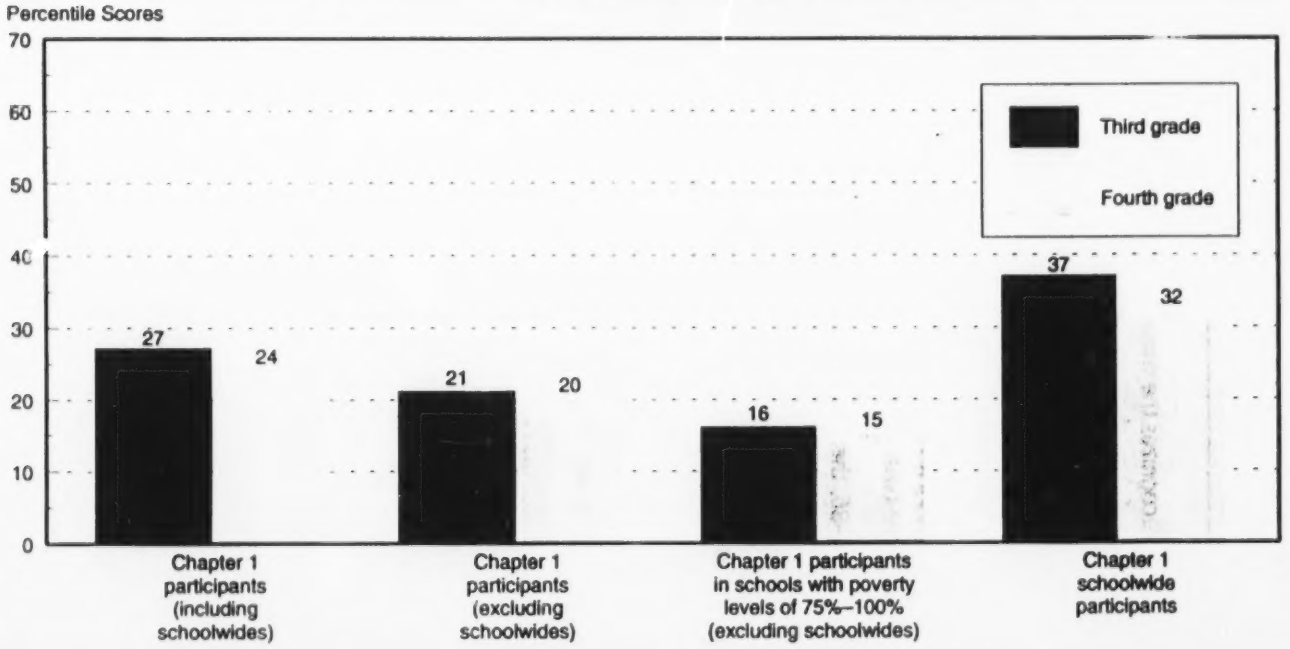


Exhibit reads: The math scores for Chapter 1 schoolwide project participants in the third and fourth grades exceeded those of all Chapter 1 participants, although they experienced a decline.

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

Family Involvement in Chapter 1 and Even Start

- Chapter 1 recognizes the critical role all parents can play in the schooling and success of their children.
- The out-of-school experience of high-achieving students is equal to more than three additional years of schooling by the time they graduate.
- There is a strong relationship between the poverty of the school and the activities available for Chapter 1 parents; the poorer the school, the more likely the school is to offer activities for Chapter 1 parents, except in the area of home-based activities.
- Since 1985–86, there has been substantial growth in the percentage of principals reporting that parents were involved as school volunteers and were helping their children with homework.
- Over 90 percent of all Even Start families participate in early childhood education and in parenting education; 71 percent participate in adult basic skills instruction.
- Only 31 percent of the families that participated in at least one core Even Start service during the 1989–90 program year continued into the 1990–91 program year. However, projects that started in 1990 are showing higher retention of families.

Chapter 5
Family Involvement in Chapter 1 and Even Start

Institutional educational change, as in the education reform movement, is always long in coming, even when the change is wanted as much as it is by parents and teachers today. Experts say school change can take thirty years. That is why it is so important not to wait for changes to happen "out there." Our children aren't waiting. Educational change can start in every home today.

—Dorothy Rich, *MegaSkills,* 1988

Almost from the inception of Title I, parental involvement has been a part of the program, although the statutory approach to parental involvement has varied over time. In 1988, the Hawkins-Stafford Amendments established new requirements for parental involvement activities, expanded the purposes of parental involvement in Chapter 1 education, required local evaluation of parental involvement, and addressed the literacy needs of parents through the new Even Start program. This chapter examines parental involvement in the current Chapter 1 program, the provision of supplemental services, and the Even Start program.

Chapter 1 Parental Involvement

The Chapter 1 statute now defines parental involvement as the building of "partnerships between home and school" to bolster "parents' capacity to improve their children's learning." The development of strategies to build these partnerships has been left to the local level. While stating that schools have a responsibility to help parents help their children, Congress made it clear that parents have responsibilities, too: "Parents of participating children are expected to cooperate with the local educational agency by becoming knowledgeable of the program goals and activities and by working to reinforce their children's training at home." Through the development of home and school partnerships, Chapter 1 can become a catalyst for effective parental involvement (see exhibits 37 and 38).

Since enactment of the Hawkins-Stafford Amendments, districts have expanded their parental involvement activities. In addition to holding traditional parent-teacher conferences, nearly three-quarters of the districts disseminated home-based education activities in the 1990–91 school year (compared with 46 percent in 1987–88) (Millsap, Turnbull, et al., 1992).

High-poverty schools are more likely to have certain activities available for Chapter 1 parents, including opportunities for Chapter 1 parents to serve as tutors (89 percent of schools with at least 75 percent poverty, compared with 63 percent of schools with less than 35 percent poverty), to employ liaison personnel to work with parents (62 percent compared with 30 percent), to offer special activities for parents who lack literacy skills (53 percent compared with 17 percent), and to provide activities for parents whose native language is not English (31 percent compared with 8 percent). Other activities are equally available to parents of Chapter 1 children in low- and high-poverty schools: parent-teacher conferences (in 90 percent of schools), parent advisory councils (68 percent), home-based education activities

Exhibit 37
An Exemplary District Parental Involvement Program in McAllen, Texas

McAllen is mainly an Hispanic community with many recent immigrants and migrant families with little or no proficiency in English. The district's parental involvement programs were initially administered under federally funded projects, such as bilingual education or Chapter 1. When Pablo Perez became superintendent eight years ago, he began to broaden the programs to include all parents, not just those whose children were eligible for specific federal projects. This change required tripling the district's investment in school and family activities.

The staff has grown from one parent coordinator for Chapter 1 services to five parent coordinators and several federally funded community aides. The position of "facilitator" was created at each building to help with instructional leadership and thus free the principals to spend more time with parents and parental activities. All parents of children in McAllen schools may participate in five types of activities: parental education, school-home and home-school communication, volunteer opportunities, home learning, and the parent-teacher organization. To support these activities McAllen uses a number of strategies including parental education programs, incentives, outreach to parents, home visits, community-school partnerships, and family learning centers.

Parents and teachers at each school are responsible for designing a plan tailored to the specific needs of parents, students, and teachers in that building. McAllen's district staff estimate that nearly 99 percent of parents have some productive contact with their child's school. The staff is now working to reach the other 1 percent and to continue to improve the involvement of all families. For example, in three schoolwide projects, parents and their school-age children are invited to the school three nights a week. The children meet with teachers for storytelling and drama or work alongside their parents in the computer lab, receive homework assistance, or receive additional tutoring. While children are engaged in activities, parents have the opportunity to improve their language and literacy skills through the use of a computer lab and English-language classes. Parents also have the opportunity to meet in support groups dealing with child development issues. The learning centers provide an opportunity for families to learn the language and customs of their new country at the same time their children are receiving services.

Source: D'Angelo (1991).

Exhibit 38
Effective Parental Involvement at a Schoolwide Project Blythe Avenue Elementary School, Cleveland, Tennessee

In the past three years, with a combination of Chapter 1 funds and dynamic leadership, Blythe Avenue School has made remarkable gains.

Blythe Avenue is a Chapter 1 schoolwide project school, with 93 to 95 percent of the students receiving subsidized breakfast and lunch. As a result of undertaking a schoolwide project, the school hired a school-community coordinator who, as of July, became the principal. The school uses parents as volunteers in classrooms; offers parenting skills classes; and offers Adult Basic Education and Opportunity for Adult Reading classes. The principal is in continuous contact with the director of a nearby shelter and, through area churches, has acquired volunteers, tutors, and resources for student birthday parties and other activities, and has helped to develop Adopt-a-Child and Adopt-a-Family programs. The principal stays in regular contact with parents, helping them address family problems.

Attendance has increased from 88 percent to 95 percent in the past three years despite the large number of transient students. Even though the Blythe Avenue School has the poorest children in the district, the school has about 15 students who transfer from other zones to attend. Similarly, several teachers from the most affluent schools in the district have requested to teach at Blythe Avenue. Parental involvement has tripled, greatly improving rapport between parents and teachers. More than 100 parents came to this year's Parents' Night event during the first week of school—a big success considering that many parents had been too intimidated by the school to attend before. Achievement test scores have shown improvement in most grades in the past three years. Third-graders scored especially well. Reading scores were at the 47th percentile in 1990, but rose to the 70th percentile in 1992. Math scores were at the 56th percentile in 1990 but rose in 1992 to the 82nd percentile.

Source: U.S. Department of Education (1992c).

(55 percent), and parent resource centers (29 percent) (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

Greater opportunities for Chapter 1 parents may be a function of the size of the Chapter 1 program—high-poverty schools typically enroll almost three times as many Chapter 1 students as low-poverty schools. These opportunities may also reflect the extra effort needed to encourage parents in high-poverty areas to take an active role in school. For example, principals in low-poverty schools were more likely than principals of high-poverty schools to report substantial participation by parents in those activities most readily carried out by adults who have money and flexible schedules—raising funds and serving as volunteers.

Between the 1985–86 and 1991–92 school years, there was substantial growtn in the proportion of principals reporting that parents were "very involved" in helping children with homework and in informal parent-teacher contacts. For those schools with poverty levels above 50 percent, the proportion of principals reporting that parents were "very involved" in helping their children with homework rose from 4 percent in 1985–86 to 16 percent in 1991–92. Principals in twice as many schools at this poverty level reported parents to be "very involved" in informal parent-teacher contacts in 1991–92 as in 1985–86 (41 percent compared with 21 percent) (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

Faced with a new mandate to assess the effectiveness of parental involvement programs, most districts comply by counting attendance at special Chapter 1 meetings; fewer districts ask parents to rate these events or measure parents' attendance at general-purpose functions; and still fewer directly assess any effects of the activities provided. Ninety-four percent of districts reported using attendance at Chapter 1 meetings, conferences, and workshops as a measure of effectiveness, and 47 percent reported using parental ratings of activities. Forty-three percent used parents' attendance at school events other than Chapter 1

events as a measure of effectiveness. Thirty-two percent of the districts reported attempting to measure an outcome—parents' use of materials at home (Millsap, Turnbull, et al., 1992).

Support Services for Children and Their Families

Support services (attendance, health and nutrition, transportation, social work, and guidance) have always been activities that could qualify for Chapter 1 funding. In 1990–91, more than 875,000 participants (16 percent) received attendance, social work, and guidance services, and about 644,000 students (11 percent) received health and nutrition services. Increases from 1989–90 to 1990–91 were reported in the number of Chapter 1 students receiving guidance, social work, and other support services in every category except health, nutrition, and transportation. Health and nutrition services have declined sharply in the decade since 1979–80, when 25 percent of Chapter 1 participants received such services (Sinclair & Gutmann, 1992; 1993.)

Outside the Chapter 1 program, a significant number of school districts across the country, most in high-poverty urban or isolated rural areas, are turning to service integration as a way of maximizing scarce resources to help children. Many districts coordinate education services with state services such as child protective services; federal services such as Medicaid, Head Start, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and federal housing; and local services such as a recreation department (see exhibit 39). They also work with private foundations, local

Exhibit 39
Housing Authority Programs, Omaha, Nebraska

Based on a partnership established in the fall of 1986, the Omaha Housing Authority (OHA) and the Omaha Public Schools began a program to address the needs of the large number of young people in housing projects who were at risk for dropping out of school.

"Operation Shadow" pairs youth 8 to 12 years old who live in four projects with housing authority employees who serve as role models and mentors. Three to four hours per day, two to three times per week, these young people "shadow" maintenance, office, and resident relations workers as they go about their daily duties.

The rehabilitated recreation center includes a study room with books lent by the public school system and four personal computers donated by local businesses. Volunteers tutor students in math, reading, and social studies and a volunteer sports coach staffs the gym.

Other links between the housing projects and the schools have been established. After a child is absent for two days, the school calls the parents and the housing authority staff. Home visits are then arranged, and assistance is provided to residents when absences stem from lack of food, appropriate clothing, or babysitting problems. Parent-teacher conferences have been conducted at the housing project. Other measures to encourage parental responsibility include a rule that families can be evicted if their school-age child doesn't attend school (this measure has not been applied), as well as a curfew for youth. A child who is absent from school is ineligible to participate in team practice that day. At the same time, the resident relations coordinator helps residents with parenting and housekeeping skills.

Following the success of this first phase of the program, the Housing Authority has designed a "FirstStep" program to provide health care and related activities "on campus" to meet needs for prenatal and early childhood care for OHA resident families. The program will include the establishment of a one-stop care center, with comprehensive services provided by a partnership of agencies.

Source: Omaha Housing Authority (1991).

businesses, and local colleges and universities, among other organizations.

Even Start

The Even Start family literacy program was established by the 1988 Hawkins-Stafford Amendments. Family literacy programs are predicated on the beliefs that children's early learning is greatly influenced by their parents, that parents must develop and value their own literacy skills in order to support their children's educational success, and that parents are their children's first and best teachers. Coming from this background, Even Start provides a coordinated approach to family literacy by integrating programs for early childhood education, adult basic education, and parenting education. Eligible families are those with children under eight years old and with a parent who is in need of basic skills education. Focusing on the family as a unit, Even Start projects strive to assist children in reaching their full potential as learners, help parents become full partners in the education of their children, and provide literacy training for parents.

While setting forth the major elements that must be the basis of each Even Start local project, the law allows grantees great flexibility. Even Start encourages local staff to draw on available models and collaborate with existing service providers to create projects tailored to the needs of local families. Even Start can thus be regarded as a "family literacy laboratory" in which grantees are trying many different strategies. The data presented here for the Even Start program are based on the first two years of the program when it was administered by the federal government as a competitive grant program. In fiscal year 1992, the program

was converted to a formula grant program, administered by state education agencies.

Participants and Services

Even Start is serving the intended population: 77 percent of Even Start adults did not complete high school and 71 percent of Even Start families had a household income under $10,000. Even Start serves a mixed racial/ethnic group: 45 percent of Even Start adults are white, 26 percent are black, 20 percent are Hispanic, 6 percent are American Indian, and 4 percent are Asian or Pacific Islander. As expected, Even Start serves children with low verbal skills. Prior to entering the program, Even Start children scored at the 8th percentile nationally on the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (St. Pierre, Swartz, & Murray, 1993).

Projects vary in their specific target groups and goals. Some projects intentionally recruit families with very low-literate adults and plan to serve them for several years, while other projects plan to provide shorter-term services to families that have an adult who can reasonably expect to attain a General Education Development (GED) certificate within the coming year.

Three "core" Even Start services are outlined in the legislation:

- *Early childhood education* services are designed for children from birth to eight years of age. Most Even Start projects try to enroll their children in existing programs: for example, 65 percent enroll some of their children in Head Start, and 41 percent enroll some in Chapter 1 preschools. Even Start projects also coordinate services with public school kindergartens and primary grades.

- *Adult basic education* services are designed to develop basic educational and literacy skills. Typical services

include Adult Basic Education (80 percent of the projects), adult secondary education (90 percent), English as a Second Language (62 percent), and preparation to attain a GED certificate (100 percent).

- *Parental education services* are designed to enhance parent-child relationships and to help parents understand and support their child's growth and development. More than 90 percent of projects helped families use services provided by other agencies, sought to increase parents' understanding of their role in their children's education, oriented parents and children to school routines, furnished information about child development, trained parents in management of children's behavior, worked to build parental self-esteem, and instructed parents in life skills such as the application of sound principles of health and nutrition.

Even Start projects are required to provide some core services to parents and children in joint sessions and to provide some home-based services. More than 90 percent of Even Start projects offer core services to parents and children together, including reading and storytelling, development of readiness skills, and social development and play. Most projects deliver some services through home visits including maintaining contact with the family, giving parents the message that staff care enough to come to their home, leaving toys or books to borrow or keep, and modeling educational activities for the parents (St. Pierre, Swartz, & Murray, 1993).

Even Start projects typically provide a range of "support" services such as transportation and referrals for employment, many of which are designed to enable the provision of core services. The legislation requires that support services be obtained from existing providers whenever possible.

Many Even Start projects use case managers, parental liaisons, or family advocates as key staff. Case managers conduct needs assessments and have ongoing contact with families. They provide some services directly and ensure that families take advantage of other services.

The average Even Start project enters into about 20 cooperative arrangements with other service providers, most often with (1) public school programs and departments and (2) local, county, and state agencies or organizations. Fifty percent of the arrangements are for parenting education, 25 percent for adult basic education, and 25 percent for early childhood education. Informal cooperative agreements are the most common decision-making arrangements; formal written agreements are used in less than 20 percent of the projects (St. Pierre, Swartz, & Murray, 1993).

Federal funding for Even Start is intended to provide for program administration, for collaboration and coordination of existing services, for provision of support services, and for provision of some core services where none are available locally. Exhibit 40 below shows that the federal expenditures for Even Start in the 1990–91 program year were about $4,000 per family (St. Pierre, Swartz, & Murray, 1993).

Retention of Participants

Maintaining parental participation is a continual challenge for Even Start projects, and most incorporate incentives to encourage families to participate. Contracts or rules for attendance are one retention strategy. Contracts help to clarify parents' roles and responsibilities (e.g., turn off the television during home visits, work through activity kits with their children). Contracts are also used to specify a level of participation in activities such as attending Adult Basic Education classes a minimum of twice a

Exhibit 40
Even Start Federal Expenditures

Program Year	Funding (millions)	Number of Families	Expenditures per Family
1989–90	$14.8	2,300	$6,443
1990–91	$24.2	6,100	$3,967
1991–92	$49.8	not available	not available
1992–93	$70.0	not available	not available

Exhibit reads: In 1990–91, the average federal expenditure per family participating in Even Start was about $4,000.

Source: St. Pierre, Swartz, & Murray (1993).

week, participating in two parenting workshops a month, and volunteering in their child's classroom at least twice a month.

There is an improved trend with respect to retention. While only 31 percent of the families that participated in at least one core Even Start service during the 1989–90 program year continued into the 1990–91 program year, projects that started in 1990 are showing higher retention of families. Sixty-five percent of first year participants, in 1990–91, continued into the second year.

Families leave Even Start for a variety of reasons. Among families that reported a reason for leaving, 31 percent reported that they had left Even Start's catchment area, 27 percent completed their educational program, 14 percent had a family crisis that prevented participation, 14 percent had a general lack of interest in the program, 7 percent left because they became ineligible, and 6 percent give other reasons, including work conflicts, medical problems, scheduling conflicts, maternity, child care problems, and a lack of transportation.

Participation in Even Start core services is highest for early childhood education—more than 90 percent of Even Start families have a child who participated in early childhood education. Participation is also high for parenting education, with about 88 percent of families participating. Participation is lowest for adult education but increased from 55 percent in the first year of Even Start to 71 percent in the second year. While participation in adult education is lower than for the other core services, Even Start families participate in adult education at a far greater rate than they did before joining Even Start. Even Start is responsible for more than doubling the percentage of families that take part in adult education (St. Pierre, Swartz, & Murray, 1993).

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Outcomes

Even Start appears to have positive short-term effects on children's readiness for school and language development—effects that are as large as those seen in studies of other high-quality preschool programs, if not larger.

The Preschool Inventory (PSI) assesses a range of school readiness skills, such as identifying shapes and colors and understanding numerical concepts. While in Even Start, children's PSI scores increase at double the expected rate. The Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT) measures receptive (hearing) vocabulary and gives a quick estimate of verbal or literacy-related skills. When in Even Start, children's PPVT scores increase at a faster than expected rate. These findings suggest that when Even Start children enter the public schools they are more likely to know basic concepts and precursors of kindergarten skills than they would have been in the absence of the program (St. Pierre, Swartz, & Murray, 1993).

Even Start also appears to have small but positive effects on adult literacy. The Comprehensive Adult Student Assessment System (CASAS) is a functional assessment system that measures a broad range of adult literacy skills and their application in real-life domains including consumer knowledge, law, occupational knowledge, and health. When adults participate in the adult component of Even Start, their CASAS scores increase by amounts comparable to the increases seen in evaluations of other adult education programs. Preliminary analyses also suggest that gains in CASAS scores increase with longer participation in adult education. Future analyses will explore these details.

(For more information on Even Start, refer to the Even Start supplementary volume.)

Special Service Arrangements

- As a result of the 1985 Supreme Court ruling in *Aguilar* v. *Felton,* private school participation dropped from 184,500 the year before the ruling to 127,900 the year after the ruling. In 1990–91, Chapter 1 served about 174,000 private school students, still below the pre-*Felton* levels.
- During 1990–91, about 30 percent of participating private school students received services in mobile vans or portable classrooms; 30 percent were served through computer-assisted instruction in their schools, 20 percent were served at other neutral sites, and 12 percent were served in public schools.
- There has been a huge increase in the use of computer-assisted instruction in private, religiously affiliated schools. Because of restrictions applied after the Supreme Court's *Felton* decision, teachers may not teach private school students in computer laboratories in religiously affiliated schools.
- Almost 600,000 of the nation's elementary and secondary school students ages 3 to 21 were identified as eligible for Chapter 1 Migrant Education Program services in 1990. Of those, approximately 47 percent were currently migratory, having moved at least once during the past 12 months, and almost 27 percent of the total migrated across state lines.
- There has been a shift in the demographic makeup of the migrant population away from poor black and white workers to more Hispanic workers, many of whom were born in Mexico.
- Nearly twice as many currently migratory students exhibited high levels of need, compared with formerly migrant students who had not moved in the last four or five years.
- More than half of currently migrant students were eligible for Chapter 1 services and 21 percent of currently migratory students received Chapter 1 services.

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Chapter 6
Special Service Arrangements

[Chapter 1 services for private school children must be made] more equitable and effective.

The Chapter 1 Migrant Education Program should be restructured so that it more effectively serves students who are truly migratory.

—Statement of the Independent Review Panel of the National Assessment of Chapter 1, 1993

The 1992 National Assessment of Chapter 1 Act mandated the assessment of services to private school students and migrant children, requiring the National Assessment to "include descriptions and evaluations of the implementation of section 1017 [Participation of Children Enrolled in Private Schools] of Chapter 1" and the "operation and effectiveness of programs for migratory children carried out under subpart 1 of part D of Chapter 1." This chapter describes the Chapter 1 services provided to both populations.

Services for Students Enrolled in Private Schools

Section 1017 of Chapter 1 requires districts to provide equitable services to eligible students enrolled in religious and nonreligious private schools. The participation of religious school students has been marked by controversy since 1965. At the heart of the controversy is the separation of church and state and the ways in which this constitutional principle governs the provision of Chapter 1 services for religious school students.

During the first two decades of Title I/Chapter 1, students in religious schools, like most of their public school counterparts, left their regular classes for pullout instruction provided by school district teachers in the students' schools. This basic pattern changed radically following the 1985 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Aguilar* v. *Felton*. The Court concluded that using Chapter 1 funds to pay teachers to provide instruction in religious schools required an ongoing state presence in those schools to ensure that the services did not advance religion. Finding that such arrangements represented an excessive entanglement of church and state, the Court declared them unconstitutional. Most Chapter 1 services must now take place at religiously neutral sites, including mobile vans, portable classrooms, or public schools. Services that may occur in religious schools include computer-assisted instruction (CAI) in specially designated laboratories and testing to determine student needs for health, nutritional, speech, and hearing services.

Following *Felton,* district Chapter 1 administrators had to devise programs that met the new requirements and were acceptable to parents and religious school educators. In many districts, initial offers of services off the premises of private schools were rejected because of concerns about students' safety, health, and instructional continuity. Subsequently, these districts and religious school educators have worked to develop acceptable arrangements.

Trends in Private School Student Participation in Chapter 1

A recent estimate of private school student participation in Chapter 1 puts the figure at just under 174,000 for 1990–91 (Haslam & Humphrey, in press). Private school student participation peaked at more than 200,000 at the beginning of the 1980s, then fluctuated during the early 1980s; in 1984–85, the year before *Felton,* participation stood at 184,500. The next year, immediately after *Felton,* states reported that participation fell by 31 percent to 127,900. The number has risen steadily since, but it has not yet reached pre-*Felton* levels (Sinclair & Gutmann, 1992).

Nationally, about 2,050 districts provide Chapter 1 services to private school students who attend approximately 6,000 schools. Just over 40 percent of private school students receiving Chapter 1 services live in 21 districts that enroll more than 25,000 students and serve 1,000 or more private school Chapter 1 participants. In 1990–91, private school participants in New York City numbered approximately 18,000, or about 10 percent of all private school Chapter 1 participants. There were about 11,000 participants in Los Angeles and 9,000 in Chicago. At the other end of the spectrum, less than one-quarter of private school participants lived in small districts or in districts that serve fewer than 30 private school students in Chapter 1 (Haslam & Humphrey, in press; Millsap, Turnbull, et al., 1992). And 85 percent of Chapter 1 school districts serve no private school students.

During 1990–91 about 30 percent of participating private school students received services in mobile vans or portable classrooms, 30 percent through CAI in their schools, 20 percent at other neutral sites, and 12 percent in public schools. Very large districts were more likely to use mobile vans and CAI, while small districts were more likely to deliver instruction in public schools (see

exhibit 41) (Haslam & Humphrey, in press; Millsap, Turnbull, et al. 1992).

Barriers to wider participation include (1) the refusal of services by religious school staff and parents because of objections to the service delivery location or fear of government entanglement, (2) the unavailability of services to students attending private schools with small numbers of eligible students, (3) some districts' lack of logistical and administrative capacity, and (4) the lack of agreements between districts to serve students who cross public school district attendance boundaries to attend private schools (Haslam & Humphrey, in press).

Districts that have overcome these barriers have done so, in part, through consultation with private school officials.

Consultation and Coordination

Districts are required to consult annually with private school officials during Chapter 1 planning, implementation, and operation, but consultation practices vary considerably. There is substantial consultation about identifying and selecting Chapter 1 students but less consultation about subjects and grade levels to be included in Chapter 1 services. Furthermore, there is limited consultation at the school level about subject areas, service delivery options, location of service, or program evaluation (Haslam & Humphrey, in press).

Chapter 1 also requires districts to "provide for the allocation of time and resources for frequent and regular coordination between Chapter 1 staff and the regular staff to ensure that both the Chapter 1 and regular instructional programs meet the special educational needs of children participating in programs" (Section 200.20[a][10][D]). However, 17 percent of religious schools reported no coordination at all (Haslam & Humphrey, in press).

Exhibit 41
Service Delivery Locations for Religious School Students, 1990–91, as Reported by Districts

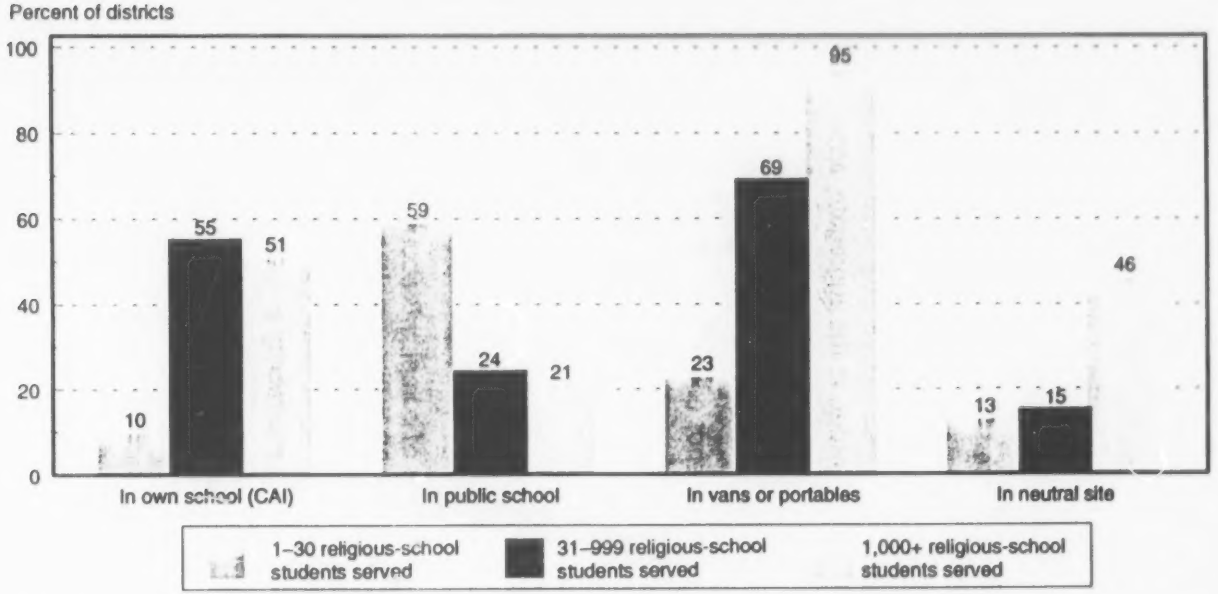

Exhibit reads: Ten percent of districts serving small numbers of religious-school students have Chapter 1 services delivered in the students' school through computer-assisted instruction.

Source: Chapter 1 Services to Religiously Affiliated Schools (Haslam & Humphrey, in press).

Equitability of Services

Chapter 1 sets four standards for determining whether services to private school students are equitable to those available to their public school counterparts. Services are equitable if the district—

- assesses, addresses, and evaluates the specific needs and educational progress of eligible private school students on the same basis as public school students;
- provides, in the aggregate, approximately the same amount of instructional time and materials for each private school student as for each public school student;
- spends equal amounts of funds to serve similar public and private school students; and
- provides private school students an opportunity for participation that is equitable to the opportunity provided to students in public schools (U.S. Department of Education, 1990).

The number of complaints about equitability has dropped from more than 100 in the years immediately after *Felton* to 2 during 1990–91. Many districts, although not all, meet the quantitative standards for equitability. Case studies indicate that, although problems of equitability as measured against the four standards persist, they usually are resolved fairly easily (Haslam & Humphrey, in press).

Religious school staff think that Chapter 1 services are either "very effective" (40 percent) or "moderately effective" (48 percent). In more than 1,200 of the districts that have compared the effectiveness of services to public and private religious school participants (68 percent), students in the two programs demonstrate about the same amount of improvement.

In 21 percent of districts, religious school students show more improvement, and in 9 percent, gains are greater in the public school program (Haslam & Humphrey, in press).

On several program dimensions, services are about the same in the majority of the 2,050 districts that serve religious school students, but there are also differences:

- 14 percent of districts rely more on teachers than on aides to serve public school students in Chapter 1 than is the case with private religious school students in Chapter 1;
- 27 percent of districts have lower student-to-teacher ratios in public school Chapter 1 programs than in Chapter 1 programs for religious school students;
- 27 percent of districts use more computer-assisted instruction (with instructional personnel present) in public school Chapter 1 programs than in Chapter 1 programs serving private religious school children; and
- 21 percent of districts provide more Chapter 1 support services to public school students than to religious school students (Haslam & Humphrey, in press).

In a few districts, some differences favor private school students.

Computer-Assisted Instruction (CAI)

CAI is a generic label for the use of computers in classroom instruction. In the context of Chapter 1 services for religious school students, it typically refers to the placement of computers in a laboratory in the school. These arrangements usually rely on commercially developed integrated learning systems (ILS) for

instruction, with noninstructional technicians monitoring student work and system operations (Russo & Haslam, 1992). The use of CAI has risen dramatically since *Felton.* In 1989, the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) estimated that districts in 46 states spent a total of $34 million on CAI services to private school students (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1989).

Among the advantages of CAI are that it permits districts to serve more students and that it meets concerns about safety, security, and schedule disruptions. The main disadvantage is that students in many CAI programs do not receive direct instruction from teachers or other staff. As one Chapter 1 director put it, "They [the vendor] didn't tell us we needed a teacher. An ILS without a teacher is like a car without a driver." Many religious school educators and Chapter 1 administrators would prefer at least some face-to-face instruction. A second problem with CAI is that ILS programs concentrate almost exclusively on drill and practice, with little attention to challenging content (Russo & Haslam, 1992).

Bypass Arrangements and Third-Party Contracts

If a school district is prohibited from providing Chapter 1 services to religious school students by state constitutional or statutory restrictions (as in Missouri and Virginia), or is otherwise unable to do so, the Secretary of Education bypasses the state department of education and the district. The Department of Education provides services through competitive contracts with nonreligious, third-party vendors, requiring the contractors to employ teachers with the same qualifications as those in the public school programs and to pay them comparable salaries. During 1990–91, about 4,000 students were served under bypass arrangements (Haslam & Humphrey, in press). In what one Department official describes as a "high estimate" based on data from 1987–88, the costs of providing Chapter 1 services under the Missouri bypass

arrangement were about 16 percent higher than they would have been without the bypass (*Pulido* v. *Cavazos,* 1989).

Any district can hire a third-party contractor to provide Chapter 1 services. In exercising this choice, the district maintains fiscal responsibility and must monitor the equitability of the services. Nationally, about 23,400 students receive Chapter 1 services from third-party contractors, including about 16,400 students in Puerto Rico. In district-initiated third-party contracts, unlike bypass arrangements, the salaries of instructional staff (often part-time teachers and aides) are usually lower than district salaries. District Chapter 1 officials and contractors agree that most, if not all, of these contracts would not be possible if contractors were required to pay comparable salaries (Haslam & Humphrey, in press).

Nevertheless, local Chapter 1 officials say that the services under these contracts are of the same quality as those the districts could provide. In addition, third-party contracts make it possible to serve small concentrations of students at individual service delivery sites. Religious school educators agree that the instruction is good and that the contractors are responsive to their concerns (Haslam & Humphrey, in press).

Capital Expense Grants

The Hawkins-Stafford Amendments authorized additional Chapter 1 funds for capital expenses incurred to comply with *Felton.* Appropriations for capital expenses for fiscal years 1988 through 1991 totaled just under $81 million. However, a 1989 GAO study found that 46 of 52 state Chapter 1 coordinators estimated that districts had or would incur a total of $105 million in eligible expenditures through 1988–89 (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1989). Funds can be used for reimbursement of eligible expenditures incurred after July 1985, including costs of transporting students, purchasing equipment, and leasing

property; payment of eligible current expenses associated with serving private school students; and payment of administrative costs that school districts will face in order to increase private school student participation. The funds may not be used to purchase computers or other items directly related to instruction (Haslam & Humphrey, in press).

About a quarter of the districts that serve religious school students applied for capital expense funds in 1991–92; high-poverty districts and very large districts serving at least 1,000 religious school students were most likely to apply. Among the districts that do not apply for the funds, about two-thirds say that they do not need them. Large and high-poverty districts, which rely on vans, portable classrooms, and computer-assisted instruction to serve religious school students, spent relatively large portions of their capital expense funds on purchases and leases of real and personal property. Small school districts and low-poverty school districts, which rely more heavily on public schools and other neutral sites for services, used large portions of their capital expense funds for transportation (Haslam & Humphrey, in press).

Services to Migrant Children

The transience, poverty, and language barriers that children of migratory farmworkers and fishers often experience make them among the most in need of additional help. In recognition of those needs, Congress authorized the federal Migrant Education Program (MEP) in 1966 as an amendment to Title I. Unlike programs under the basic Chapter 1 grants, MEP services are administered directly by state education agencies. Most recently, under the Hawkins-Stafford Amendments, Congress mandated

the establishment of a National Commission on Migrant Education to study educational services to migrant children.

In addition to funding supplemental instruction, the MEP supports health and nutrition services, transportation, and the tracking of students' educational and health records to assist in providing instructional continuity. Federal funding for the state-administered MEP program is based on the number of migrant students identified (but not necessarily served) in each state—with a supplement based on the number identified and served in the summer. Because migrant students are concentrated in California, Texas, and Florida, those states receive more than half of the total funds allocated for the MEP.

Needs of Currently and Formerly Migratory Children

Roughly 1 percent of the nation's young people ages 3 to 21—about 597,000—were identified as eligible for Chapter 1 MEP services in 1990 and therefore were counted for funding purpose through the Migrant Student Record Transfer System (MSRTS), a computerized tracking system. Of those, approximately 47 percent were currently migratory, that is, they had moved within the past year; and almost 27 percent of the total migrated across states (Strang et al., in press; Cox et al., 1992). According to data from MSRTS, currently migratory students averaged just over one qualifying move in a 12-month period. Fifty-three percent of migrant students counted for funding purposes were formerly migratory, having moved within the past one to five years (Cox et al., 1992). The Hawkins-Stafford Amendments established a service priority for currently migratory children.

Both currently and formerly migratory students have substantial educational and economic needs. Overall, however, the need for services—notably those related to instructional support—decreases

as migrant students remain settled. In 1990 nearly twice as many currently migratory students exhibited five or more special needs for instructional or other services, compared with students who last moved within the past four to five years (Cox et al., 1992).

Migrant children born in Mexico account for about 30 percent of the migrant student population (Cox et al., 1992). Most of these children, and others born in the United States to Mexican citizens, shuttle between schools in Mexico and the United States as frequently as migrant children who follow the crops and move among schools within the country (National Commission on Migrant Education, 1992).

Services Provided Through the MEP and Local Chapter 1 Programs

Just over 62 percent of currently and formerly migratory students who were enrolled in school during the regular school year reportedly received MEP instructional or support services in addition to identification, recruitment, or entry into the MSRTS. The program regulations require that currently migratory children receive priority for services. Fifty-eight percent of currently migratory and 66 percent of formerly migratory student received MEP instruction during the regular term. About 21 percent of both groups were participating in summer-term projects (Strang et al., in press). Despite the service priority for currently migratory children, they receive MEP services at lower rates in regular-term instruction than formerly migratory children.

Instruction through the MEP during the regular term is provided by additional teachers or aides in the regular classroom, in pullout settings, or in extended-day or weekend programs. Subjects most commonly offered through MEP are reading, other language arts, and mathematics. Instruction is frequently presented in Spanish when there are large numbers of Hispanic migrant students. MEP also supports instruction in science, vocational education, health,

and preschool—although those classes are more typically offered during the summer (see exhibit 42 for an example of a summer migrant project).

The legislative history on whether the MEP was intended to supplement federal efforts is ambiguous. However, many officials view the MEP as a program of last resort and designed to supplement other federal, state, and local efforts. At the same time, it is often used as a service of first resort, particularly among local projects serving a large concentration of migrant children. Indeed, the MEP often appears to be offered in place of other supplemental services, including Chapter 1. According to Cox et al. (1992), migrant students did not receive Chapter 1 services because they had high test scores, lacked teacher recommendations, or were enrolled in schools or grades where Chapter 1 services were not offered.

Receipt of services may also vary in accord with state and local targeting and funding decisions. During the regular school year, currently migratory students were significantly less likely than formerly migratory students to receive traditional Chapter 1 services because they were enrolled in a school that did not offer these services (see exhibit 43). Nationally, 21 percent of currently migratory students received Chapter 1 services during the regular term, compared to 26 percent of formerly migratory students (Cox et al., 1992). Indeed, in Florida, where many migrant children live, only 14 percent of the currently migratory and 26 percent of the formerly migrant children received aid under other supplementary services, including Chapter 1 (National Commission on Migrant Education, 1992).

Exhibit 42
Summer Migrant Project of the Community School Corporation South Bend, Indiana

The South Bend Summer Migrant project offers distinctive supplemental summer programs organized around annual themes related to science, technology, and geography. The five-week program enrolls migrant students from preschool through grade 10.

The project offers experiential-related academic instruction in a bilingual setting, tied to the summer's theme. Under the theme "Energizing Learning Through Science," for example, students participated in science/math and reading/language arts activities focusing on problem solving and critical thinking, which were geared to their academic needs. In the afternoon, students pursued their own scientific interests, developing an individual project to display in the Science Olympiad held at the end of the term. A team of bilingual project facilitators, all specialists in science education, provided ongoing technical assistance with the projects as they developed, and continually adjusted the instructional curriculum to meet students' needs.

The summer project enjoys strong community and parental support. The local Parks and Recreation Department donates recreational equipment, and a community liaison visits students' homes to train parents to work with their children. In addition, children learn about their Hispanic heritage through cultural arts activities.

Source: U.S. Department of Education (1992c).

Exhibit 43
Reasons Why Migrant Students Did Not Participate in Chapter 1, 1990

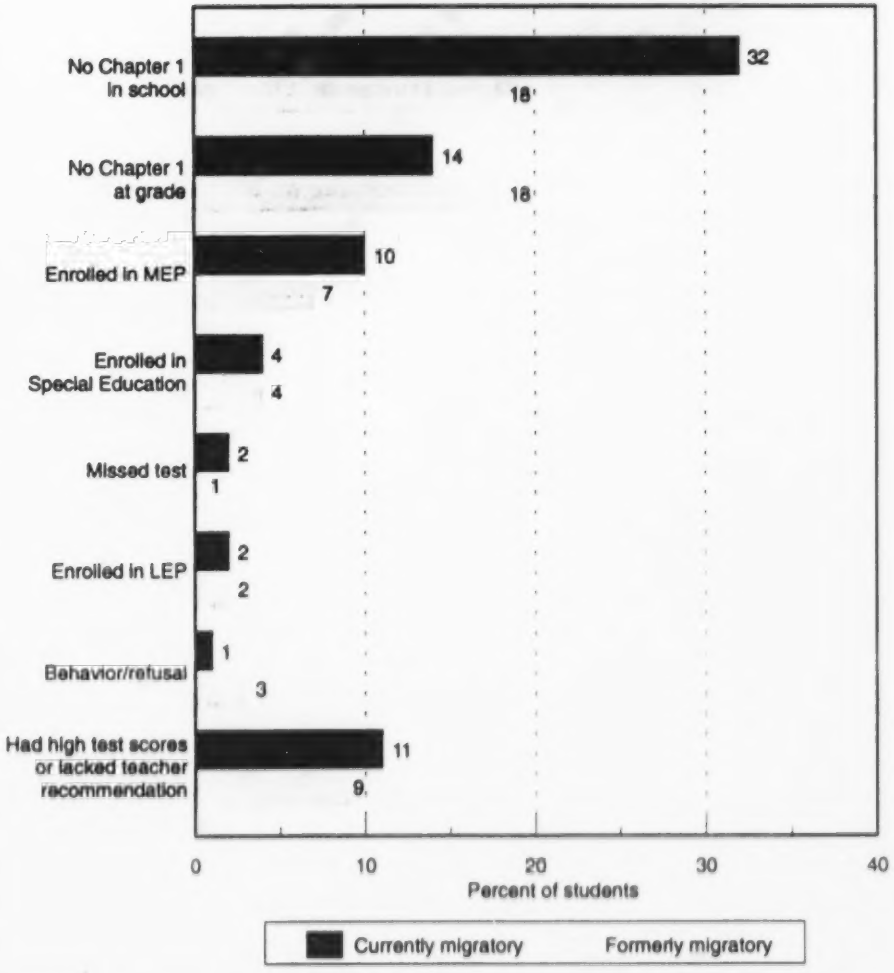

Exhibit reads: According to principals, 32 percent of currently migratory students did not receive Chapter 1 services because they were not offered in their school.

Source: Descriptive Study of the Migrant Education Program (Cox et al., 1992).

As the report of the National Commission on Migrant Education (1992) points out:

> ***On the one hand, Federal regulations stipulate that local communities and states must meet their financial responsibilities to educate disadvantaged students. On the other hand, these laws may inadvertently encourage schools to structure programs so that children can only benefit from one service at a time.***

The MEP plays a large role in providing migrant students with support services to ensure their success in school, and with access to noninstructional services provided by others. More than 50 percent of currently migratory MEP students received medical or dental treatment during the regular school year. MEP supports transportation to school for 83 percent of currently migratory MEP students during the summer. Almost 50 percent of currently migratory students received MEP-funded counseling services during the regular school year (Cox et al., 1992).

The study also documents that the potential of the MSRTS as a means of identifying and reporting on students' needs has not been fully realized. Fewer than one-third of the projects during the regular school year report using MSRTS records to determine students' grade-level placement, the need for particular instructional or support services, or the number of credits needed for graduation for secondary school students. Instead, school or project personnel usually provide information by mail, telephone, or fax to schools or projects to which a migrant student transfers.

(See the supplementary volumes on Chapter 1 services to private religious school students and services to migrant children for more information on these topics.)

Student Assessment and Program Improvement

- Assessment in Chapter 1 has five purposes: (1) student placement; (2) student, teacher, and parent feedback; (3) local accountability; (4) state accountability; and (5) national accountability.
- Currently, national accountability drives testing by requiring data aggregated up from the classroom level.
- Because commercial achievement tests are designed to be independent of particular curricula or instructional practices, the content of the tests is unlikely to match the academic goals of schools, districts, or states.
- Norm-referenced tests are often based on earlier theories of learning, judge student achievement by relative norms rather than content-based standards, and provide little useful information for guiding instruction.
- The national, state, and local work in progress toward developing content-based standards and assessment holds promise for supporting instructional and testing reforms in Chapter 1.
- States that have set their own standards for student performance and administer tests to measure the accomplishments of their students and schools are nevertheless compelled to identify schools for program improvement according to nationally normed tests, thus perpetuating a dual testing system.

Chapter 7
Student Assessment and Program Improvement

It is important that the purpose of the evaluations and methods being designed to measure our educational progress match the overall goals states are trying to reach through their educational improvement programs. If test items and evaluations do not match the objectives, they tend to undermine the overall improvement effort.

—Richard W. Riley
former governor of South Carolina
writing in 1984

The Hawkins-Stafford Amendments retained the existing provisions for student assessment in Chapter 1 but added a new set of mandatory procedures for improving the programs of schools in which Chapter 1 students are not closing the achievement gap with their peers. The Interim Report of this National Assessment dealt with student assessment and program improvement in some detail; its conclusions are summarized in this chapter and are supplemented with newly available analyses.

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Student Assessment

The effectiveness of Chapter 1 programs must be evaluated on the basis of aggregated student performance and desired outcomes stated in the district's application. Districts must state the desired outcomes—to improve the educational opportunities of program participants—in terms of the basic and more advanced skills that all children are expected to master. School districts typically use norm-referenced achievement tests for several purposes: student eligibility and identification, instructional feedback and diagnosis, local accountability, state accountability, and national accountability. For some of these functions, the law requires districts to use norm-referenced test scores; for others, the use of these tests results from tradition or convenience (U.S. Department of Education Advisory Committee on Testing in Chapter 1, 1992).

The law requires that states and districts generate pre- and posttest scores that can be combined to give a picture of overall student gains in the program, by grade and subject. This mandate, enacted in 1974, is given its operational specifics in the Title I Evaluation and Reporting System (TIERS), which requires annual testing in all grades above first grade having Chapter 1 services, the use of one of several nationally normed achievement tests, calculation of student gains in terms of normal curve equivalents, and reporting from the district to the state and in turn to the U.S. Department of Education.

Norm-referenced achievement tests (and the criterion-referenced versions of the same instruments) have a number of strengths. They provide objective, reliable information for an investment of relatively little time and money. If the tests were used to do only what they do well, fewer problems would arise. As a representative of a test publisher points out: "No one test can do it all. The multiple measurement approach to assessment is the keystone to valid, reliable, and fair information" (Kean, 1992).

However, "multiple measurement" is not the standard operating procedure in Chapter 1. Because Chapter 1 mandates extensive use of norm-referenced tests for aggregate reporting, districts are inclined to use the same test data for multiple purposes rather than to administer more tests. Increasingly, in this context, the flaws of norm-referenced tests are seen as having undesirable consequences for the program.

For example, experts in early childhood education criticize the use of standardized tests in determining student eligibility below grade 3; in making this argument, they cite many young children's short attention span, poor paper-and-pencil skills, and uneven rates of development (Meisels, 1992). Another issue in the use of tests for student selection is their inadequacy in identifying the skills and needs of limited-English-proficient students.

Standardized test scores also have drawbacks as tools for instructional diagnosis and decision making. Designed to be independent of a local curriculum, the tests cannot give a teacher much help in pinpointing the parts of the curriculum in which a student needs more work. More insidiously, according to critics, the multiple-choice format rewards the teaching and learning of test-taking skills (such as filling in answer-sheet bubbles and eliminating incorrect choices), which have little real-world usefulness (Koretz, 1988; Shepard, 1991). As an alternative, critics argue, teachers should be able to administer performance assessments that would tap students' skill in carrying out more meaningful tasks (writing an essay, conducting an experiment) and would permit a more useful diagnosis of what each student knows and can do (Resnick, 1992).

Current procedures for accountability at all levels also invite criticism. The aggregate national data compiled in TIERS are incomplete and inaccurate. For example, in 1989–90, the states reported matched pre- and posttest scores for only 60 percent of Chapter 1 reading participants and 55 percent of mathematics

participants (Sinclair & Gutmann, 1992). The students for whom districts did not have posttest scores were more likely to have moved—and thus to differ in significant ways from the more stable students who are represented in TIERS. The different results obtained from independently administered tests in the Prospects longitudinal study also call into question the accuracy of TIERS. Moreover, when asked a series of questions about the data they submit to TIERS, local coordinators displayed considerable confusion, with high proportions giving impossible or implausible answers (Millsap, Turnbull, et al., 1992). If districts were actually using the test data—or even checking them for accuracy—they should not have harbored these misunderstandings.

Most fundamentally, the issues in Chapter 1 testing are connected to the standards by which students and educators will be held accountable. The criticism of current high-stakes tests coincides with a movement toward student assessment that emphasizes advanced skills, links assessment to curriculum standards, and relates testing to course content. At a time when states are moving toward the articulation of performance standards for all students, Chapter 1 testing remains tied to an assumption of the 1970s: that progress toward a national average on conventional achievement tests is the relevant standard for children in high-poverty schools.

Program Improvement

Enactment of the program improvement provisions under the Hawkins-Stafford Amendments was intended to send a new and bold message that Chapter 1 projects had to be held accountable for improved performance of Chapter 1 students. Before the Hawkins-Stafford Amendments were enacted, Chapter 1 projects

were required to assess student learning, but there were no consequences for failing projects. As long as programs spent funds for intended purposes and followed other procedural requirements, they were in compliance, regardless of whether Chapter 1 participants made progress. The 1988 amendments marked a departure by focusing for the first time on information to assess the effectiveness of the program.

By their own report, about two-thirds of all Chapter 1 schools (more than 32,000 schools) were involved in a formal state or local school improvement process in 1991–92. Of these schools, 40 percent had not been formally identified for Chapter 1 program improvement as of early 1992 (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993). Because both Chapter 1 program improvement and broader school improvement efforts have affected so many schools, and because program improvement was among the most innovative features of the Hawkins-Stafford Amendments, it is worth understanding what requirements have been brought to bear on schools and how schools respond to their identification.

Under the program improvement and accountability provisions outlined in the law:

- Schools are identified as in need of improvement if the aggregate achievement scores of Chapter 1 students show no change or show a decline over the course of the year.

- Districts are to intervene to upgrade performance in those schools that need improvement.

- States are to be involved through the design and implementation of a joint state-district improvement plan for schools that continue to show no improvement after district intervention. States have a continuing

oversight role until the Chapter 1 program in the particular school improves.

- Furthermore, Chapter 1 students who have not shown progress are to be identified. If after two years these students still have not improved, the districts must conduct a needs assessment and revise services, as appropriate.

Under the new requirements for program improvement, as the Interim Report noted, the means established for measuring program operations and accountability "have not yet resulted in the setting of consistently high standards and expectations for Chapter 1 students and programs." What the requirements did, however, was to establish a floor for minimum performance below which projects could not fall. The requirements also focused much greater attention on the validity of current strategies for assessing progress under Chapter 1.

In identifying the quality of school performance, Congress intended that Chapter 1 students should progress faster than students who receive no extra help. Subsequent U.S. Department of Education regulations defined the minimum school performance as showing a normal curve equivalent (NCE) gain (a standardized measure for improvement) by Chapter 1 students of greater than zero. Schools with no gain or a loss in either basic or more advanced skills must begin activities to improve results. In addition to requiring minimal performance standards, Congress also urged districts to adopt other measures (called "desired outcomes"), not dependent on norm-referenced tests, to assess school performance. For each measure identified, schools that did not show substantial progress were also to initiate improvement activities.

Many states set their achievement standards low, most often no higher than the federal minimum. In the 1989–90 school year (the first year in which states were required to implement the

new program requirements under the Hawkins-Stafford Amendments), just 16 state education agencies required the use of a cutoff point higher than the statutory minimum (no gain or a loss in normal curve equivalents) to determine whether schools required program improvement (Turnbull et al., 1990). Most districts followed the lead of their states, although nine of the 36 SEAs using the minimum standard reported that at least some of their districts were independently setting a higher cutoff point (Turnbull et al., 1990). Considerable attention and publicity were given to these findings through the Department's 1990 report on state administration of the amended Chapter 1 program, the congressional hearings on implementation, and the efforts of the Department's program office to promote higher standards.

By the 1991–92 school year, the number of SEAs using an achievement standard higher than the minimum had risen to 23; the remaining 27 reporting SEAs used the minimum standard established in federal regulations. Of the 16 that had set a higher standard than minimum two years earlier, five had reverted to the minimum standard, and one did not respond to the follow-up survey. Thus the 23 states with higher identification standards in 1991–92 included 10 that had set them in 1989–90 and 13 that had raised their standards.

The use of desired outcomes opened up the field of indicators that could be used to assess progress such as student attendance, retention, and graduation rates. By focusing on "improvement" rather than "achievement," Congress intended that measures and standards used to demonstrate progress toward desired outcomes might be something other than norm-referenced standardized test scores. Nevertheless, test data were clearly still required de facto for assessing this progress because a measure that could be aggregated was required. No one seriously argued against using nationally norm-referenced tests.

Educators have little faith in the process by which schools are selected for program improvement (Millsap, Turnbull, et al.,

1992). One reason is that the process relies on aggregate achievement on standardized, norm-referenced tests in subjects in which students receive Chapter 1 instruction. States that have set their own standards for student performance and administer tests to measure the accomplishments of students and schools are nevertheless compelled to identify schools for Chapter 1 program improvement according to nationally normed tests (see exhibit 44). Although encouraged in the statute and regulations, the use of additional desired outcomes as a basis for identifying schools and students in need of improvement is at the discretion of states and districts. Moreover, these other desired outcomes can only add to—not substitute for—the standard of aggregate achievement on a nationally normed test.

The Improvement Process

As reported in the interim assessment, half the schools identified for program improvement tested out the next year, without implementing an improvement plan.

Of the schools identified for program improvement, virtually all (97 percent) have held meetings to examine Chapter 1 and school objectives and performance. Additional staff development is also a common activity, found in more than two-thirds of the identified schools. However, unless Chapter 1 program improvement is linked to a broader improvement effort, the improvement process may not go much beyond meetings and short-term staff development. Among those schools conducting Chapter 1 program improvement but no other improvement effort, 98 percent held meetings and 86 percent did additional staff development, while just 51 percent adopted a new instructional approach in Chapter 1. But when Chapter 1 program improvement was combined with another improvement effort, schools were about equally likely to adopt a new Chapter 1 instructional approach as to add to their staff development (64 percent versus 63 percent). Within each group

Exhibit 44
Program Improvement Requirements at Odds with State Standards

Jefferson County, Kentucky, asked the state education agency (SEA) for a one-year waiver of the usual Chapter 1 procedure for identifying schools in need of program improvement based on data from norm-referenced tests arguing,

> Jefferson County has energetically supported the new Kentucky educational initiatives and is rapidly moving away from norm-referenced testing (NRT) as a valid measurement of student performance. During this transition from NRTs to more authentic assessment, the use and importance of NRTs has been significantly decreased. As a result, the spring of 1991 testing caused some significant problems for Chapter 1....Since the inception of the reauthorized Chapter 1 law, Jefferson County has enthusiastically involved their identified schools in the program improvement process. We have worked diligently to make Chapter 1 an integral part of the total and rapidly changing education scene in Jefferson County. We feel that to identify large numbers of schools on last year's NRT data would greatly undermine the credibility of program improvement and Chapter 1 in general with the practitioners of the schools. The limited pre-post data on students and the greatly diminished importance of the role that NRTs are playing in the education of all of our students leave NRT data as a poor reflection of the performance of our children....This one-year exception to usual Chapter 1 procedure will help us maintain the momentum we have built for integrating Chapter 1 into the bigger picture of education in Jefferson County and the state of Kentucky (Carson & Rodosky, 1992, August 24).

In response to the waiver request, the SEA's Deputy Commissioner for Learning Results Services responded:

> ...We appreciate your energetic support of the educational initiatives in Kentucky and implementation of KERA....After careful review of the Chapter 1 law, regulations, policy manual, and a verbal opinion...rendered via telephone by the Chapter 1 office, Department of Education, Washington, D.C., the following response is offered.... We can find no legal basis to grant a waiver to Jefferson County from reporting the aggregate achievement gain/loss for each school that implemented a Chapter 1 project during the 1991–92 school year (Thomas, 1992).

of schools, smaller percentages altered regular instruction, Chapter 1 staffing, or Chapter 1 service location (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

Written plans for school program improvement provide one window into the improvement process, although not a perfect one. For this National Assessment, 42 local plans from 10 states were analyzed (Turnbull, Russo, et al., 1992). Readers should recognize that this is not a representative selection of plans and that written plans do not necessarily do justice to the full scope of an improvement effort as implemented. However, with these caveats in mind, some conclusions emerge from this group of plans.

Without exception, these written plans are vague. Despite the planners' apparent efforts to place their improvement strategies in the context of goals and objectives, this group of plans leaves an overall impression of fragmentation. Many state their goals in terms of global outcome measures; many also label their improvement strategies (e.g., coordination) as goals. In some cases, planned activities follow logically from the goals, but in many cases they do not. And the plans rarely describe specific objectives for which the schools could be held accountable, other than improved aggregate performance on a standardized test. Only 7 of the 42 school plans indicate the goals by subject area and grade.

Typically, the plans include several pages of activity-focused goal statements, such as to inform parents about the Chapter 1 program and about the need to read with their child to improve achievement, to include more manipulatives in the mathematics program, and to "incorporate teaching practices that will accelerate learning." Similarly, the plans typically describe activities in global terms. The vagueness of the goals makes progress difficult to assess.

Examples of their activity descriptions are the following:

- "Efforts to involve students in more reading and writing activities."

- "Identify and utilize curriculum strategies that will provide optimal learning....Develop and implement alternative strategies to reinforce skill weaknesses."

- "Better communication between building teachers and Chapter 1 teachers."

Undoubtedly, many schools undergoing Chapter 1 program improvement are approaching this work energetically and thoughtfully. A vaguely written plan does not have to imply a poorly executed effort, but the evidence of the written plans does suggest that an approved plan is no guarantee of an effective effort.

To what extent are schools actually carrying out the most ambitious features of their plans? Although we do not have direct evidence, studies of the implementation of model programs in Chapter 1 schools provide relevant information (McCollum, 1992; Stringfield et al., 1992). They show that the road to full implementation of an ambitious program like Accelerated Schools, Success for All, or Higher Order Thinking Skills (HOTS) is a long one, and that many schools that sign on to these models actually implement only selected features. Similarly, the Study of Academic Instruction for Disadvantaged Students showed that individual teachers spend years becoming familiar with a new instructional technique like literature-based reading lessons or the use of manipulatives in mathematics, and that their use of a new technique will increase gradually as their understanding of its applications deepens (Knapp et al., 1992).

When asked what was most useful in facilitating the improvement process, the principals of schools engaged in improvement efforts were most likely to rank "consensus

between the principal and teaching staff on effective practices" ahead of other factors; about one-third ranked it first. Next most frequently mentioned were testing and other evaluation data on students (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

(See the supplementary volume of the final report from the Advisory Group on Testing and Assessment in Chapter 1 for more information on these issues.)

Enabling Structures for Improvement

- According to local Chapter 1 directors, much of their assistance from SEAs focuses on regulatory matters of program compliance (60 percent) rather than program quality (34 percent).
- District Chapter 1 staff and the Chapter 1 Technical Assistance Centers (TACs) and Rural Technical Assistance Centers (RTACs) are key sources of Chapter 1 assistance. The TAC/RTACs account for approximately 0.1 percent of Chapter 1 spending.
- Chapter 1 teachers and regular classroom teachers spend relatively little time in staff development. Teachers report receiving staff development on multiple topics, but the typical amount of time spent on each topic is only three to six hours a year.
- Chapter 1 elementary aides receive much less staff development than do Chapter 1 elementary teachers.
- While the Hawkins-Stafford Amendments encouraged the dissemination of effective Chapter 1 practices, no mechanism currently exists to stimulate such innovation in Chapter 1.
- Although the innovation projects provision offered districts some flexibility to experiment, only 3 percent of districts used this option because funding drew from the regular Chapter 1 allocation.
- Implementation of whole-school reform models (such as Comer, Sizer, Slavin), when attempted, is variable and the evidence of their effectiveness is mixed.
- The emphasis on compliance during onsite monitoring by federal officials influences the extent to which states and districts focus on complying with fiscal and procedural requirements in administering the program.
- Several states such as Texas, New York, and California are adopting new systems of monitoring that focus on program quality and guidance for improvement, in addition to compliance with rules and regulations.
- States are also using performance-based rewards (Florida, South Carolina) or invoking sanctions (New Jersey, Kentucky, South Carolina) to spur improvement.

Chapter 8
Enabling Structures for Improvement

Before reform, we were actively excluded from working with schools by the central office. Reform has opened up the city.

—University curriculum specialist, Chicago, 1992

With a law and regulations that focus on targeting supplemental services to the neediest schools and students, the Chapter 1 program has generally left issues of program quality in the hands of local staff. Resources for technical assistance, knowledge development, and dissemination have been limited. Federal and state monitors concentrate on ensuring that funding recipients obey the law rather than providing much substantive educational guidance, and schools receive few rewards for good performance.

Technical Assistance

The sources of assistance built into the Chapter 1 program are the Chapter 1 offices of state education agencies (SEAs) and the federal contractors who operate Chapter 1 Technical Assistance Centers (TACs) and Rural Technical Assistance Centers (RTACs). The Chapter 1 TACs and RTACs are a key source of Chapter 1

assistance, although they account for only 0.1 percent of Chapter 1 spending. They work closely with SEA staff and with groups of district and school staff in regional workshops and consultations.

According to local Chapter 1 directors, much of their assistance from SEAs focuses on regulatory matters rather than program quality (see exhibit 45). In SEA Chapter 1 offices nationwide, the 314 generalists who review applications and conduct general-purpose monitoring greatly outnumber the 60 specialists in subjects (such as reading) and the handful of "program improvement specialists" (Turnbull, Wechsler, & Rosenthal, 1992).

The Chapter 1 TACs and RTACs are not the only federally supported assistance centers in elementary and secondary education. Other categorical programs, such as bilingual education and Indian education, also operate regional assistance centers. The regional educational laboratories have the mission of improving the education of at-risk students; desegregation centers offer assistance to school districts in the process of desegregating. And although the populations of children served by these programs overlap, coordination across the providers is generally unplanned. The Department's Office of the Inspector General has called for an overall strategy to coordinate and possibly consolidate assistance across program lines (U.S. Department of Education, 1991, September).

Schools turn to multiple providers of assistance with program improvement, relying especially on local help (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993). Of the schools formally identified for program improvement, 88 percent received technical assistance from district Chapter 1 staff and 67 percent received help from other district staff, most often in the form of one or more visits to the school. Nonlocal providers of assistance help schools identified for program improvement somewhat less often; these providers include state Chapter 1 staff (69 percent of identified schools), Chapter 1 TACs and RTACs (54 percent), staff in institutions of

Exhibit 45
District Assessment of State Technical Assistance Provided by Chapter 1 Office, 1989–90

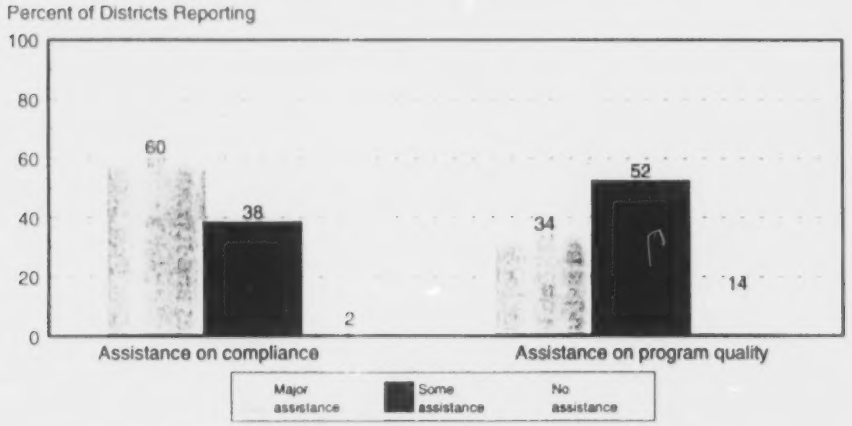


Exhibit reads: Sixty percent of the districts reported that the SEA Chapter 1 office had provided major assistance to help their programs comply with the law and regulations, but only 34 percent reported receiving major SEA assistance on program quality.

Source: The Chapter 1 Implementation Study: Interim Report (Millsap, Turnbull, et al., 1992).

higher education (46 percent), and independent consultants (42 percent). Among these outside providers, the ones most likely to help only through workshops are the university staff and independent consultants, while the states, TACs, and RTACs are about as likely to visit the schools as to provide workshops. Data are not available on the typical number of visits to each school (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

With limited resources, TACs and RTACs cannot provide sustained help to many individual schools, although 19 percent of all schools identified for program improvement report that they have received a visit from TAC or RTAC staff. On a pilot basis, the TACs and RTACs have provided more intense assistance to schools identified for program improvement in a small number of urban and rural school districts. A formative evaluation shows that few schools participating in this initiative made major program changes (Haslam, 1992b). A primary reason, according to the evaluation, was that local decision makers had not asked for assistance and were unsure of what they were required to do under program improvement. Furthermore, because of the choice to work with several schools in each site and the distance of most sites from the TACs, the help usually took the form of brief, occasional visits to each school. Finally, much of the assistance offered "a smorgasbord of improvement options" rather than covering topics in depth or moving to serious consideration of implementation (Haslam, 1992b).

The traditional roles and funding levels of SEAs, TACs, and RTACs do not equip them to play a significant role in school-by-school improvement. Despite their concern about program quality, the SEA Chapter 1 offices are, by their directors' own admission, inadequately staffed on matters of instructional quality (Turnbull, Wechsler, & Rosenthal, 1992). The customary functions of the TACs and RTACs—helping states with evaluation and the program improvement mandate, and conducting group workshops to familiarize educators with new ideas—can be

useful, but they are superficial in comparison with the roles that technical assistance could play in school improvement.

Program Monitoring by Federal and State Staff

Federal and state monitoring of Chapter 1 is designed primarily to ensure compliance with program rules and regulations. Monitors cannot be expected to provide direct assistance to all schools. Monitors from the U.S. Department of Education focus attention on SEAs; they visit approximately 30 states, 60 districts, and 200 schools annually. Most state Chapter 1 directors give the monitors a "high" rating for clarity about the items to be reviewed in monitoring visits, while majorities rate them "medium" or "low" with respect to overall responsiveness, understanding of Chapter 1 issues in the state, forthrightness in answering questions, and overall helpfulness (Turnbull, Wechsler, & Rosenthal, 1992). Almost every state director (46 of the 48 responding) reported that federal monitors were concerned with compliance issues onsite, but fewer than half (21 of the 48) said the monitors were concerned about the quality of Chapter 1 instructional programs.

The following examples of federal monitoring procedures, based on statutory and regulatory requirements, illustrate the emphasis on compliance in program monitoring:

- **Program design.** Federal monitoring guidelines established by the Compensatory Education Program place greater emphasis on documenting that the needs assessment has been conducted properly than on

ascertaining that appropriate services were being delivered after the needs were assessed. Concerns regarding the quality of Chapter 1 programs go unaddressed. For example, monitors have no statutory authority to cite districts for the fact that Chapter 1 aides with only a high school diploma are providing instruction—instruction that may be unsupervised by a certified teacher.

- **Schoolwide projects.** Federal monitors are required to concentrate on procedural issues, reviewing eligibility requirements and using checklists to identify individuals involved in the program-planning process. Monitors have no authority to criticize schoolwide projects for weaknesses in instructional approaches.

- **Evaluations.** Federal monitoring guidelines for state and local evaluation results include checklists to determine whether all grades, subjects, and skill levels were tested and whether testing security procedures were followed. States are often cited for delays in submission of state performance reports. Yet monitoring checklists do not promote examination of whether meaningful results are produced.

State Chapter 1 offices generally conduct annual onsite monitoring in their largest Chapter 1 projects; the frequency of monitoring visits to other projects ranges from annually to every four years or more. According to local Chapter 1 directors, state monitors are most concerned about parental involvement (in 89 percent of the districts that had a monitoring visit during 1990), student eligibility and selection (85 percent), program design (83 percent), and coordination with the regular instructional program (74 percent) (Millsap, Turnbull, et al., 1992). Of these topics, the first two involve checking evidence of participation in the program by Chapter 1 parents and target students; the third and fourth have a programmatic focus.

However, targeting is the issue that stands out as a focus when state monitors visit schools. Showing the monitors the rosters of Chapter 1 students, and matching each student's name with a record of a proper selection process, is a big part of the visit—often the only part that teachers can recall when asked (Millsap, Turnbull, et al., 1992).

Development of Knowledge to Support Program Innovation

Although substantial sums of federal and private funds do support innovation and disseminate information about effective approaches, the Chapter 1 program invests very little in encouraging program innovation or in identifying and disseminating effective approaches. One of the Chapter 1 TACs operates a bulletin board system that provides a data base of effective practices and programs serving disadvantaged students. Current users are the TACs, RTACs, and SEA staff. Efforts are also under way to link Chapter 1 projects with the National Diffusion Network to disseminate successful practices nationally.

The authorization for innovation projects has done little to build cumulative knowledge. Under this provision, a local education agency (LEA), with the approval of the SEA, may use up to 5 percent of its Chapter 1 funds for innovation, but the allowable activities are limited and do not encourage testing of a wide range of interesting ideas. In the 1990–91 school year, only about 3 percent of Chapter 1 districts operated innovation projects (Millsap, Turnbull, et al., 1992).

However, innovative programs for disadvantaged children are being undertaken, some using Chapter 1 basic grant funds. Experts in various academic subjects have investigated ways to integrate the teaching of lower-level and advanced skills in instruction for disadvantaged students (e.g., Reading Recovery and the Higher Order Thinking Skills [HOTS] Program).

Other promising innovations for disadvantaged students are more wide-ranging, requiring changes throughout the schools and districts (e.g., Levin's Accelerated Schools Project, Adler's Paideia schools, and Sizer's Coalition of Essential Schools). The driving spirit behind these schoolwide management reforms is the conviction that fundamental problems in the system cannot be solved by tinkering with the existing structure of the school.

Such transformations are not easily achieved. They require a conducive climate for change to take effect. An examination of the implementation of promising improvement strategies in high-poverty schools suggests the following:

- *Active leadership* is crucial to the success of any program. Especially for schoolwide management, leaders must demonstrate commitment to the success of the reform strategy, the ability to motivate staff, and the management skills necessary to make necessary organizational changes.

- *The implementation of all strategies costs money.* Sometimes the costs are hidden, as when teachers must spend much of their own time in either learning or implementing the new approach.

- All reforms require *sustained professional development.* Opportunities for professional development must occur prior to the implementation of the program, during the

implementation, and periodically after the program is fully implemented.

- Schools experiencing the most *difficulty initiating reform usually have other serious problems* such as severe fiscal difficulties, racial tensions, and inadequate school or district leadership (McCollum, 1992; Stringfield et al.,1992).

There is no "silver bullet" in any of these programs. Implementation varies, and consequently, so does achievement. Projects that have been more fully implemented have tended to produce better outcomes. However, it is premature to gauge the magnitude of the outcomes or the extent to which these projects significantly close the learning gap for disadvantaged students.

A recent report from a committee of the National Academy of Sciences, analyzing the potential contribution of packaged reforms to school improvement, draws this conclusion:

> ***The main task of reform is not to install new practices in schools the way one would install appliances; nor is it to overcome resistance to new knowledge. Instead, it is to foster learning, which is a very different and complex endeavor. In our vision, successful change in schools requires participants at all levels of the learning community—policy makers, agency representatives, researchers, practitioners, and parents—to work together to initiate and examine new ideas, to share new knowledge, and to test, refine, and rebuild programs*** **(National Research Council, 1992, p. 16).**

Rewards for Good Performance

At present, incentives for good performance in Chapter 1 are limited to incentive payments made under the authority for innovation project grants, and recognition of successful projects through the Department of Education's national Chapter 1 Recognition Program. However, only 3 percent of the 400 districts that operated an innovation project made incentive awards (Millsap, Turnbull, et al., 1992). And although some Chapter 1 projects may be encouraged by the success of the exemplary projects that are recognized, it is doubtful that the benefits of the recognition program extend much beyond the projects identified.

PART III.

REINVENTING CHAPTER 1— NEW DIRECTIONS

New Directions for Chapter 1

There are 10 new directions toward which the Chapter 1 program should move in an effort to help educationally disadvantaged children reach the National Education Goals:

1. Encourage performance standards for Chapter 1 schools that are keyed to curriculum frameworks and promote voluntary service delivery standards.
2. Treat states differentially by expanding their flexibility in the use of resources in exchange for performance accountability tied to standards.
3. Collaborate on education and social services to address the multiple needs of students attending high-poverty schools.
4. Remove barriers to program participation by students with limited English proficiency.
5. Apply new knowledge about extending learning time, effective instruction for secondary school students, and staff development to Chapter 1 services.
6. Enlist parents as full partners in their children's education by informing them of their school's performance, underscoring the reciprocal responsibilities of schools and parents, and assisting parents who need help.
7. Provide equitable and appropriate learning opportunities for all Chapter 1 participants, including students who attend religiously affiliated schools and migrant students.
8. Align Chapter 1 testing with state testing systems that are matched with new curriculum frameworks as they become available.
9. Use assistance, monitoring, and incentives to support continuous progress in all Chapter 1 schools and intensive intervention in schools needing improvement.
10. Direct resources to the neediest communities and schools, and modify Chapter 1 formula provisions to improve accuracy.

Reinventing Chapter 1—New Directions

> ***In our experience, the ability to energize a school and get it to focus productively on a common set of objectives, using the talents of staff, parents, and students, is far more important than any particular curriculum package or teaching method.***
>
> —Henry Levin, Learning from Accelerated Schools, 1992

This report to Congress has reviewed evidence on the current operations of Chapter 1 in improving learning opportunities for disadvantaged students. Having described the conditions affecting high-poverty schools (Part I) and the workings of the current Chapter 1 program (Part II), this report now turns to the directions that the Chapter 1 program can take to pursue high-quality education for disadvantaged students. The question facing policymakers is this: How can Chapter 1 radically improve the educational prospects of disadvantaged children, especially in ways that will help these children move toward achieving the goals set by the nation for all its students and schools? Reinventing a program that has operated for 27 years will not be easy, but Chapter 1 must become a stronger partner for educational change.

Ten important directions for reform of the Chapter 1 program are as follows:

1. Encourage performance standards for Chapter 1 schools that are keyed to curriculum frameworks and promote voluntary service delivery standards.

2. Treat states differentially by expanding their flexibility in the use of resources in exchange for performance accountability tied to standards.

3. Collaborate on education and social services to address the multiple needs of students attending high-poverty schools.

4. Remove barriers to program participation by students with limited English proficiency.

5. Apply new knowledge about extending learning time, effective instruction for secondary school students, and staff development to Chapter 1 services.

6. Enlist parents as full partners in their children's education by informing them of their school's performance, underscoring the reciprocal responsibilities of schools and parents, and assisting parents who need help.

7. Provide equitable and appropriate learning opportunities for all Chapter 1 participants, including students who attend religiously affiliated schools and migrant students.

8. Align Chapter 1 testing with state testing systems that are matched with new curriculum frameworks as they become available.

9. Use assistance, innovation, monitoring, and incentives to support continuous progress in all Chapter 1 schools and intensive intervention in schools needing improvement.

10. Direct resources to the neediest communities and schools, and modify Chapter 1 formula provisions to improve accuracy.

Changes based on these principles could bring Chapter 1 into the mainstream—indeed, the forefront—of reform in curricular standards, whole school improvement, performance monitoring, and integrated services. The urgent need to transform Chapter 1 reflects the need to transform American education, with special attention to the schools serving the most disadvantaged students.

The National Assessment is not alone in advocating new directions for the program. The National Assessment of Chapter 1's Independent Review Panel, the Independent Commission on Chapter 1 funded by the Edna McConnell Clark and John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundations, and the Chief State School Officers have outlined new directions under separately issued reports. Throughout each, however, are common reform themes—standards, curriculum frameworks, new systems to assess student achievement and program effectiveness, improved targeting on those most in need, and attention to areas of high-poverty through a multi-social service approach.

We elaborate here on the evidence pointing to the need for reform in Chapter 1, and on possible options.

1. Encourage performance standards for Chapter 1 schools that are keyed to curriculum frameworks and promote voluntary service delivery standards.

Consensus on curriculum standards would affect the quality of education offered to all children, but particularly children from low-income communities. In other parts of the world, standards promote equity. Among countries in the Asia-Pacific region, for example, "one of their main purposes in establishing consistent standards throughout the country is to ensure equality of access, objectivity, and the possibility of success for all students" (U.S. Department of Education, 1992, p. 10). In the United States, which lacks national standards, the gap between higher- and lower-achieving students is greater than in many other nations (see exhibit 46).

As researchers (O'Day & Smith, in press) have pointed out, the minimum competency movement in the mid-1970s produced an alignment of curriculum, instruction, and assessment that had beneficial results in improving the performance of poor and minority students. During this period, an emphasis on achieving equality in educational opportunity converged with an instructional focus on basic skills acquisition to raise the performance of low-achieving students. Tests of minimum competency further reinforced the importance of teaching basic skills; students often had to pass these tests to graduate from high school. This alignment of instruction and assessment has been described as producing a de facto basic skills curriculum that appeared to help narrow the achievement gap.

A coordinated system of curriculum frameworks, learning opportunities, and performance assessments could offer a powerful vehicle for moving Chapter 1 students and schools

Exhibit 46
Indices of Low Achievement and Achievement Disparity for 13-Year-Olds in Mathematics, 1990–91

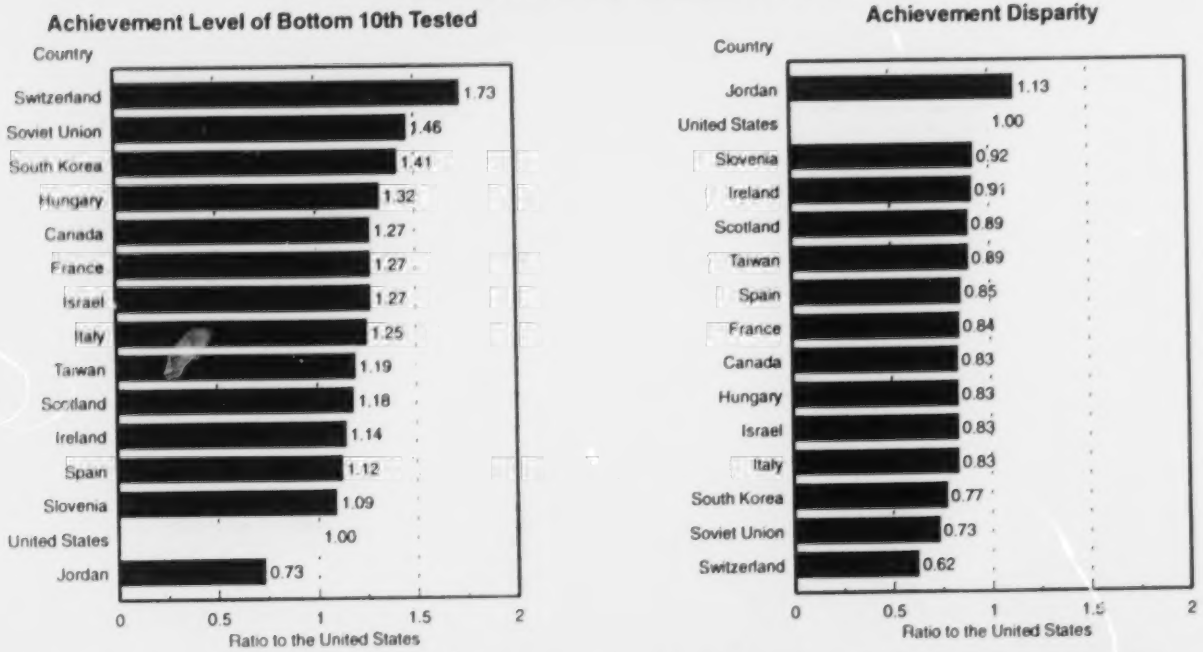


Exhibit reads: Not only do low-performers in the United States score at the bottom in math internationally, but the difference between the bottom 10th and the top 10th is wider in the United States than in most other countries.

Note: Achievement disparity computed as the range between the bottom 10th and top 10th, divided by the average.

Source: International Assessment of Educational Progress (Educational Testing Service, 1992).

toward the high performance levels that now elude most of them. Helping disadvantaged students attain the high performance standards represented by National Education Goals 3 and 4 lies at the core of Chapter 1's mission. Moreover, common standards offer a basis for addressing educational inequities by calling attention to those schools lacking adequate opportunities to learn. Because standards are directly connected to the educational program and directly reveal the strengths and weaknesses of school performance, they can be a more effective basis for accountability than the measures available in the current Chapter 1 program.

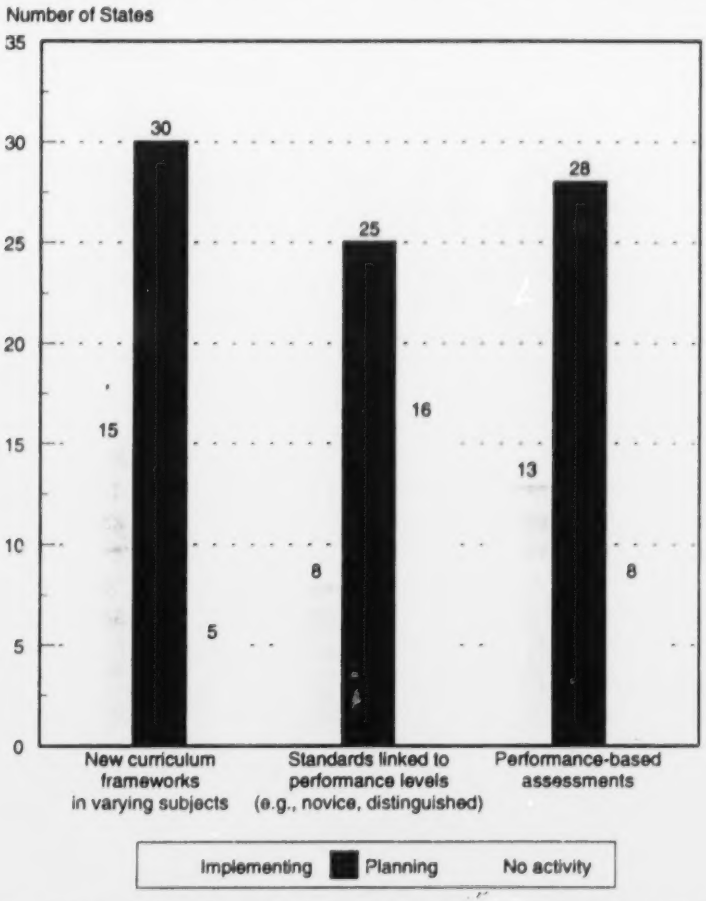
States differ in their capacity to implement standards, but changes are occurring nationwide. More than 40 states are in some stage of developing or implementing new curriculum frameworks. Only a few states have specified standards for what students should know, other than minimum competencies, but over half are planning to do so (see exhibit 47). The federal government is also supporting efforts by professional and scholarly organizations to develop standards in core subjects, along the lines of the work by the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics in developing standards in mathematics. Standards are being developed in science, history, civics, geography, English, and the arts, with completion expected by 1995.

Options for consideration in Chapter 1 include the following:

- Requiring all states to adopt challenging curriculum frameworks and performance standards, applicable to all students, that would be the basis for accountability in Chapter 1.

- Entering into a compact with the states that have adopted curriculum frameworks and performance standards to give them increased flexibility in aligning Chapter 1 with larger reform efforts.

Exhibit 47
Status of New Curriculum Frameworks, Standards, Assessment, and State Monitoring Systems, 1992–93



Note: Data are for the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. In some cases, no information was available, so the data do not sum to 52.

Exhibit reads: Fifteen states are implementing new curriculum frameworks.

Source: Status of New State Curriculum Frameworks, Standards, Assessments, and Monitoring Systems (Pechman & LaGuarda, 1993).

- Providing financial and technical assistance to states that are developing and implementing standards.

- Establishing service delivery guidelines for the quality of Chapter 1 services in such areas as depth and coherence of the curriculum, appropriateness of instructional methods, and expertise of staff.

2. Treat states differentially by expanding their flexibility in the use of resources in exchange for performance accountability tied to standards.

Based on the record to date, services at the margins of the regular school program generally do not enable Chapter 1 students to catch up with their peers. Under some circumstances, then, it makes sense for schools to use Chapter 1 resources to strengthen the core academic program. The issue is to place conditions on this flexible use of resources that ensure appropriate accountability and thereby protect the interests of the neediest students.

The current provision permitting schoolwide projects in schools with at least 75 percent poverty is not an educational panacea. It has stimulated instructional reform in some participating schools, while in other schools its chief contribution has been to make Chapter 1 services (such as computer labs) available to all students or to reduce class size by about one-third. A reason for the mixed effectiveness of this provision may be that it does not specifically require schools to pursue ambitious goals for student performance.

Concerns about the effectiveness of schoolwide projects would be heightened if more schools were eligible to participate—and, at lower poverty thresholds, the numbers of schools and students eligible for participation in schoolwide projects could increase dramatically. For example, setting a threshold of 50 percent would increase the number of eligible schools from the current 9,000 to almost 22,000. The schools with poverty levels between 50 and 75 percent collectively enroll 5.9 million students, of whom 4.5 million are not currently Chapter 1 participants; thus a group of students almost as large as the entire number now served (5.5 million) would be brought into eligibility for Chapter 1-funded services by this change in the poverty threshold (see exhibit 48).

This dilemma—that marginal, targeted Chapter 1 projects may not be up to the job of improving students' performance, while the flexibility of a schoolwide project does not ensure any greater effectiveness—may be addressed through legislative options that couple flexibility with performance accountability. Among such options would be the following:

- Permitting schoolwide approaches in schools with less than 75 percent poverty only in those states or school districts that developed and enforced high standards for student performance. If performance did not show progress toward these standards after a reasonable period of time, the school would revert to the conventional Chapter 1 design of a targeted project.

- Retaining the 75 percent threshold and requiring participating schools to adopt high performance standards, with continuation of the schoolwide project contingent on showing progress toward the standards.

- Broadening the flexibility allowed in schoolwide projects by loosening the strings on other categorical funds along with Chapter 1 funds. This would be in exchange for a

Exhibit 48
Potential Participation of Chapter 1 and Non-Chapter 1 Students in Schoolwide Projects by Eligibility Threshold

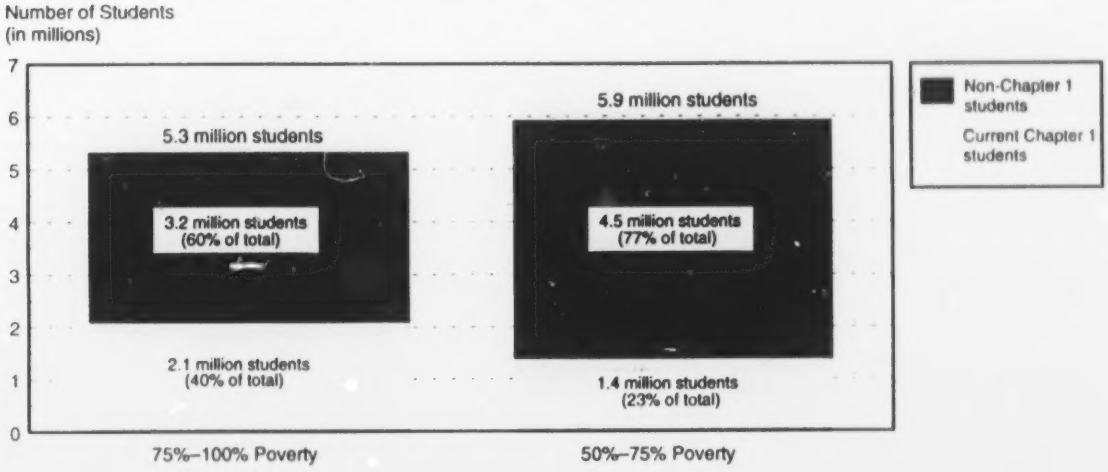


Exhibit reads:

If all Chapter 1 schools currently eligible to participate in schoolwide projects chose the schoolwide option, the number of children served would increase by 3.2 million. If the threshold were extended to schools with 50 to 75 percent poverty, an additional 4.5 million students would be served. These additional children would more than equal the number of children served currently.

Source: Chapter 1 in Public Schools: Chapter 1 Implementation Study (Millsap, Moss, & Gamse, 1993).

school plan indicating how the resources would be used to improve student performance. All funding sources could then hold the school accountable for progress toward its goals.

3. Collaborate on education and social services to address the multiple needs of students attending high-poverty schools.

The problems facing schools in high-poverty communities are severe, undermining their attempts to begin approaching the National Education Goals. As documented in Part I of this report, high-poverty schools often lack the physical security, nurturing supervision, and enriching experiences that promote and reward learning in more advantaged communities. The evidence presented in Part I suggests that in order to improve significantly the learning opportunities of disadvantaged students, high-poverty schools must also promote higher attendance and make their environments safer and drug-free, as well as upgrading curriculum and instruction. Ensuring that preschool children from the school's attendance area have access to quality early childhood education and that parents have opportunities to participate in adult literacy programs also can move high-poverty schools closer to achieving the national goals.

In many high-poverty schools, the problems are so severe that the educational system cannot hope to achieve its aims without the collaboration of other public services and the wider community. Neither can the problems of these communities be solved without improving educational outcomes for their residents. Yet school and community efforts to help children are often hindered by

conflicting requirements and institutional barriers to coordination among agencies that deliver education and related services. For example, social programs such as Medicaid, free or reduced-price lunch, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and food stamps define eligibility in terms of poverty. However, there is no uniformity in definition across programs.

Kirst, Koppich, & Kelley (1992) have recently recommended that Chapter 1 adopt a comprehensive health readiness strategy for children in any school attendance area that meets Chapter 1 schoolwide project criteria. Under this strategy, a state could designate such an attendance area as a zone where all children of school age or below would receive a comprehensive package of preventive and acute health services without regard to the eligibility of an individual child under Medicaid:

> ***We believe that a combination of schoolwide eligibility with sls (school-linked services) is the most promising way to proceed. Schoolwide projects avoid the issue of non-Chapter 1-eligible students receiving social services. Moreover, schoolwide services view the unit of improvement as a school and its surrounding area rather than the individual child. This community-wide perspective is the appropriate one to combine Chapter 1 and school-linked services*** **(p. 18).**

Support for collaborative, community-based service delivery under Chapter 1 to cover social service areas relevant to the National Education Goals—including improved school readiness, attendance and graduation rates, or safer and drug-free schools—could take several possible forms, including the following:

- Targeting additional Chapter 1 resources directly to high-poverty schools, "priority schools," to support

integrated services, perhaps through multiyear competitive grants.

- Requiring that grantees, under a competitive grant or other arrangement, work with a local "education goals" council that would include representatives from the community and from other agencies serving local children. Plans approved by the council would explain how the school would achieve long-term educational goals and intermediate targets.

- Supporting rigorous evaluation, technical assistance, and networking to increase communities' capacity to organize and deliver high-quality services.

- Directing the U.S. Department of Education to work with other federal agencies to establish more uniform guidelines for serving students at risk, and to waive conflicting requirements when necessary.

4. Remove barriers to program participation by students with limited English proficiency.

LEP students are a rapidly growing segment of the Chapter 1 population. Chapter 1 serves a greater number of LEP students and provides more funds per pupil than the federal Title VII bilingual education program.

Under current law, Chapter 1 programs are permitted to serve only those LEP students who have educational needs "stemming from educational deprivation and not related solely to . . . limited

English proficiency." This requirement appears designed to limit Chapter 1 to serving LEP students whose needs derive from disadvantaged backgrounds. In practice, limited English proficiency is so closely tied to low income and low educational attainment that such distinctions are meaningless and virtually impossible to measure.

Options for addressing this problem would include the following:

- Revising or eliminating the requirement that LEP students be selected for services on the basis of educational deprivation distinguishable from limited English proficiency.

- Encouraging the use of assessment instruments in the student's native language to assess content knowledge and skills and to identify needs for special Chapter 1 instruction in subject areas.

- Along with expanding access to Chapter 1 for LEP students, requiring assurances that Chapter 1 staff have appropriate skills for instructing these students.

5. Apply new knowledge about extending learning time, effective instruction for secondary school students, and staff development to Chapter 1 services.

In several respects, local Chapter 1 programs do not draw on the best available knowledge about effective services. Areas in

particular need of improvement, as described in Part II of this report, are the use of time for instruction, services in secondary schools, and staff development.

Extending Learning Time

The law's broad requirement for "size, scope, and quality" may not go far enough toward encouraging the use of effective approaches such as projects that extend learning time for students. We know that students learn more when they spend more time in academic work, yet Chapter 1 programs that extend the school day, week, or year are uncommon.

Options for encouraging greater use of "extended time" programs would include the following:

- Setting aside funds for this purpose by making special grants or by requiring that each district use at least a specified proportion of its Basic Grant for such programs.

- Providing states and school districts with ample information and assistance to support their use of strategies for extending learning time.

Effective Instruction for Secondary School Students

Chapter 1 services in secondary schools could also benefit from attention to what is known about effective instruction. Students in grades 10–12, who account for only about 4 percent of Chapter 1 participants, currently receive services with the same remedial skills focus found in elementary schools. These services neither prepare older students for work nor lead to further schooling.

Research shows that a comprehensive program of challenging courses, high standards, career counseling, and related support services can be effective for disadvantaged youth. State and local secondary school reformers have recognized the need to move beyond basic skills through increasing students' access to "gatekeeper" courses like algebra and geometry, and through alternative curricula integrating academic and vocational education. While Chapter 1 has an authority for students in secondary schools under Part C, the Secondary School Program for Basic Skills Improvement and Dropout Prevention and Reentry, it lacks a strategy for secondary services.

Among the options for such a strategy would be the following:

- Earmarking funds for comprehensive programs for at-risk secondary school youth that integrate academics with practical training and that equip participants to succeed in gatekeeper courses such as algebra and geometry.

- Coordinating Chapter 1 services with those funded under the Perkins Act, Tech-Prep, the Job Training Partnership Act, and new initiatives for youth apprenticeship.

Staff Development

Staff development in Chapter 1 generally offers only cursory coverage of a broad array of topics, and Chapter 1 aides are even less likely to participate than are Chapter 1 teachers. Historically, Chapter 1 practice has been slow to incorporate the latest thinking about teaching and learning. For example, repetitive drill and practice may persist in Chapter 1 instruction when regular classroom teachers are trying to move beyond this approach.

Higher expectations for Chapter 1 would require teachers with a deeper understanding of their subject matter and greater skill in applying diverse instructional and management techniques to classroom situations. Professional development opportunities that can encourage continuous improvement for teachers and schools are often found in nontraditional formats offered by teacher networks, special institutes, or professional associations; instructional improvement is also advanced by provisions for collaborative, sustained learning among all teachers in a school (Talbert, 1992).

Among the ways in which Chapter 1 could promote more effective forms of staff development would be the following options:

- Funding districts or schools to support long-term Chapter 1 staff development through mechanisms such as external networks, institutes, and university centers. Grantees might submit plans for staff development in support of higher student standards and state-of-the-art instruction, with participation by regular classroom teachers who instruct Chapter 1 students.

- If service delivery standards are developed for Chapter 1, they could include standards for effective staff development.

6. Enlist parents as full partners in their children's education by informing them of their school's performance, underscoring the reciprocal responsibilities of schools and parents, and assisting parents who need help.

The Hawkins-Stafford Amendments clearly recognized the important role that parents play in their children's school success and the ways schools can help engage parents as full partners in their children's education. The creation of the Even Start program underscored the significance of the family by providing a coordinated approach to family literacy that integrates early childhood education with parenting and literacy training for parents.

Chapter 1 schools have expanded their parental involvement activities since the Hawkins-Stafford Amendments were enacted. On the positive side, there are more conferences with parents and more home-based activities. Principals also report that greater numbers of parents in Chapter 1 schools are "very involved" as volunteers and helping with homework.

However, for some Chapter 1 schools, parents and others in the community cannot readily obtain clear indicators of school performance and improvement. High-poverty schools, through the grades they give their students, may send signals to parents that overstate student performance and school quality. The Prospects study has compared students' grades with their percentile ranking on the independently administered test. On average, A students in math in high-poverty schools performed about as well as C students in low-poverty schools on the same math test (see exhibit 49). If grades are the only feedback parents receive about school quality, parents of children in some

Exhibit 49
Seventh-Graders' Grades and Percentile Test Scores: Low- and High-Poverty Schools, 1991

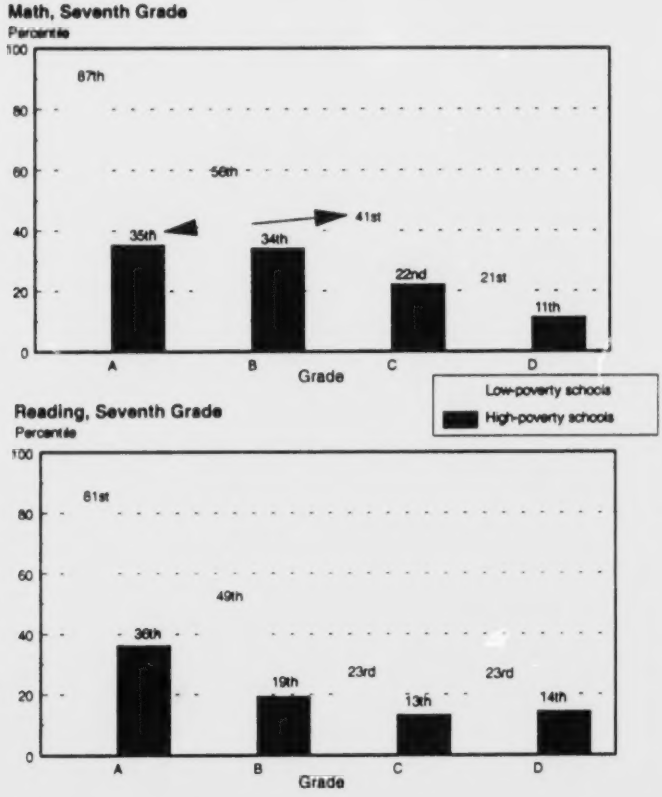


Exhibit reads: An A student in a high-poverty school would be about a C student in a low-poverty school when measured against standardized test scores.

Source: Prospects (Abt Associates, 1993).

high-poverty schools may falsely believe that the schools' performance is satisfactory.

The Chapter 1 reports could be modeled on the reports that many school districts and states have developed to inform parents and the community about school quality. These reporting systems provide opportunities for parents and community members to discuss findings with school and district representatives. For example, in South Carolina, school and district improvement reports contain a number of required indicators but also show information customized to reflect the concerns of particular communities (Gaines & Cornett, 1992). Schools could be compared with other schools in the district or the state with similar student compositions. The Prospects study data have shown that not all high-poverty schools are performing poorly. Indeed, the top performers could set an interim benchmark for similar schools to target (see exhibit 50).

Research has shown that parents want to be more involved but many do not know how. Chapter 1 could encourage parent-school contracts that clarify the mutual responsibilities of parents and schools to support students in attaining high standards. Parents' responsibilities to help their children succeed in school include making sure that students come to school, that they are ready to learn, and that they do their homework. The school's responsibilities include providing children with equitable access to learning opportunities and informing parents about their children's performance and about ways parents can become involved in their children's education.

In Even Start, too, there are grounds for both optimism and concern. The program evaluation has pointed to the potential benefits of the early childhood education component for the young children participating and the frequent use families are making of the services for children. The evaluation has also documented that the adult education services draw substantial percentages of Even Start parents into parenting classes

Exhibit 50
Reading and Math Percentile Bands for All Schools and Schools with Poverty of 75 to 100 Percent

School Scores	Reading Percentiles		Math Percentiles	
	All Schools	High Poverty	All Schools	High Poverty
First Grade				
Mean	46	26	50	25
Maximum	86	72	82	72
Fourth Grade				
Mean	57	24	55	26
Maximum	86	50	90	58
Eighth Grade				
Mean	56	24	52	24
Maximum	74	60	78	63

Exhibit reads: First-grade students in one high-poverty school in the Prospects sample scored at the 72nd percentile. Indeed, these top performers could set an interim benchmark for similar schools to target.

Source: Prospects, (Abt Associates, 1993).

(88 percent) and into adult education (71 percent). Yet the study indicates that maintaining parents' commitment to the adult education component poses the greatest challenge, particularly for those projects that serve families experiencing multiple problems; for these families, other concerns take precedence over adult education.

To reinforce the partnership between schools and parents, a variety of options for Chapter 1 could be considered, including the following:

- Requiring or encouraging annual school performance profiles that report on progress to parents and the community. Profile reports could describe the progress each school was making toward achieving academic standards. A report could also include other indicators of school quality and performance such as school discipline, parental participation, and other factors related to achievement of the national goals.

- Encouraging parent-school contracts that, while not legally enforceable, clarify the mutual responsibilities of parents and schools to support students. Recently, former secretary of education Terrel H. Bell and former congressman Augustus Hawkins have advocated the use of Learning Improvement Contracts (see exhibit 51).

- Providing guidance to Even Start grantees on designing instructional strategies for working with families who have many problems and adults who have low-level skills, alternative family literacy models or curricula, and strategies for retaining families in the program.

Exhibit 51
Sample Learning Improvement Contract (LIC)

This LIC is between (parent) and (teacher/school official) on behalf of (student) who is enrolled in (school).

Parental Responsibilities

1. Parent(s) will help the child develop a positive attitude about school. They will ensure that the child arrives at school prepared for the day's learning activities, follows school rules, carries out teachers' instructions and directions, and works diligently to master information and skills.
2. Parent(s) will ensure that (student) attends school regularly, is on time each day, and misses school only when absolutely necessary.
3. Parent(s) will help safeguard the health and physical strength of (student) so that he/she will have adequate nourishment and rest to face the rigors of school activities each day.
4. Parent(s) will support the school work activities of (student) by encouraging homework completion, setting aside study time at home, creating an atmosphere for learning, and monitoring the child's homework assignments to see that the child completes them on time.
5. Parent(s) will keep in touch with (student's) teacher(s), regularly responding to messages and reports from school, attending parent/teacher conferences, discussing with the child in detail the report card or other measures of achievement, and conferring with both child and teacher on how the parent(s) can help the child improve in areas needing attention.
6. Parent(s) will prepare (student) for school events such as examinations and other activities by providing extra rest and support prior to the event or exam, praising and recognizing good work, discussing both strong and weak points, and planning a course of action at home for even better performance.
7. Parent(s) will facilitate (student's) completion of the school district's specified reading requirements for advancing to the next school grade by discussing and supervising their child's reading activities early and continuously throughout the school year. Parent(s) will assume responsibility for the child's meeting these requirements.

School Responsibilities

1. The (student's) teacher and other school personnel will welcome (student's) parent(s) to participate in an effective parent-school partnership on behalf of the child. Educators will be supportive in offering suggestions to help parent(s) accomplish the responsibilities outlined in the previous section.
2. School personnel will strive to keep (student's) parent(s) informed of special school events affecting the child. The school calendar and notices will be sent home

(continued)

Exhibit 51 (continued)

regularly so parent(s) will know of examinations, deadlines, and dates of parent-teacher conferences and other activities.

3. School personnel will keep (student's) parent(s) informed about progress in meeting school achievement requirements, as well as problems that will require special attention. School personnel will notify parents promptly of absences, tardiness, incomplete homework, incomplete school work, and breaking of school rules.
4. School personnel will respond in a timely manner to parental requests for information about (student's) progress at school or about problems that parents may perceive.
5. School personnel will provide textbooks, supplies, and other materials necessary for school progress (within the limits of school budget restrictions beyond the school's control). School personnel will offer special assistance to students or parents who need it.
6. School personnel will implement the school district's required reading program by meeting with parents, informing them of their responsibilities, and discussing the program in detail. The mandatory and optional reading lists will be provided early in the school year so that (student) may begin early in the year to meet these requirements. School personnel will check on the availability of listed books at local and school libraries and will notify the school district office of any book shortages.
7. School personnel will compile and provide parents with a list of approved volunteer reading counselors along with their phone numbers and addresses. School personnel will also provide (student) with a reading "pass off" card to be presented to reading counselors to sign when a reading requirement has been met.

This sample LIC promotes understanding and cooperation between us—(student's) parent(s) and school personnel. By clarifying mutual and separate responsibilities and expectations, we can better teach and motivate (student) to have an educationally productive school year. By working together, we can enhance the child's education by providing effective support at home and at school. Although this is not a legally binding contract enforceable in a court of law, we publicly make these commitments to facilitate the child's development and preparation for productive, satisfying citizenship.

Student _____ Date _____
Parent _____ Date _____
School Official _____ Date _____

Source: Adapted from *Knowledge Network for All Americans* (1992, pp. 66–68).

7. Provide equitable and appropriate learning opportunities for Chapter 1 participants, including students who attend religiously affiliated schools and migrant students.

Students Who Attend Religiously Affiliated Schools

The 1965 Title I legislation placed the responsibility of "public trusteeship" on state and local education authorities in securing services under the law for disadvantaged students in private and religiously affiliated schools. This process has been made more difficult by the *Felton* decision, which requires that Chapter 1 instructional services be provided to private school students at religiously neutral sites, such as mobile vans, portable classrooms, or classrooms isolated from the regular school program.

Although the Chapter 1 participation of students who attend private schools appears to be returning to pre-*Felton* levels, of continuing concern are problems of service quality. Constitutional restrictions create the "ultimate pullout" program, making it hard to provide educationally sound services for religiously affiliated school students. For example, reliance on computer-assisted instruction (CAI) that emphasizes basic skills and is delivered without the presence of a trained teacher has substantially increased since *Felton*. Religiously affiliated school representatives have also complained that publicly provided services are excessively costly compared with equivalent services that could be purchased.

Options for helping to ensure equitable services to private school students include the following:

- Strengthening the regulations governing coordination and consultations, for example through plans for an annual schedule of planning and review. Districts could be required to develop plans for consulting with religiously affiliated school representatives about student selection, needs assessment, services, evaluation, and program and site-specific strategies to coordinate Chapter 1 services with the regular private school program. Possible use of third-party contractors also could be discussed in formulating plans.

- Strengthening the complaint review process through clarifying the grounds for filing complaints and selecting remedies. Private schools could file complaints if the public school district did not use effective consultation strategies, make available all feasible service delivery options, or use the most cost-effective approach in providing services. The scope of remedies could be extended to require services through third-party contractors where complaints have not been resolved adequately.

Migrant Students

The mobility, poverty, and language barriers experienced by migrant students make them among the most needy of all Chapter 1 eligible students, but also among the most difficult to reach. Problems have been identified with participation and services under the Migrant Educational Program (MEP).

Currently migratory students (who migrated within the prior year) account for a minority (44 percent) of the students served by MEP instruction and support services during the school term; formerly migratory students (who retain eligibility for five years after their last qualifying move) make up the remaining 56 percent. Although both currently and formerly migratory students are

needy, teachers report that the needs of former migrants are less and that these needs diminish steadily the longer the students remain settled.

The 1988 legislation established a service priority for currently migratory children, but the priority has been largely ineffective in influencing recruitment. States and localities continue to serve larger numbers of formerly migratory students, who are easier to identify and require fewer special service arrangements.

Problems have also been identified in ensuring that the MEP is truly a supplemental program rather than the primary funding source for special services. Frequently, MEP services appear to be offered in place of Chapter 1 rather than being supplemental to it. Some schools serve concentrations of migratory students who receive only MEP-funded services; often migratory students do not participate in Chapter 1 because it is not offered at their school.

Accountability is particularly weak for the quality of services provided to migratory students and for the performance of these students. Because of the mobility of migratory students, no school system is held responsible for the educational outcomes of migratory children, and for the most part the Migrant Student Record Transfer System (MSRTS) lacks usable information about student outcomes.

The following options are among the possible ways to help the MEP serve needy migratory students more effectively:

- Modifying the allocation of MEP funds to target more services on currently migratory students. Possibilities include giving greater weight in the formula to interstate migrants, or reducing the period of eligibility for former migrants from five years to three years.

- Requiring districts to offer MEP services only in those schools that are also served under the Chapter 1 Basic Grant.

- Holding *states* accountable for the performance of migratory students on the same basis as *schools* are held accountable for other Chapter 1 students.

8. Align Chapter 1 testing with state testing systems that are matched with new curriculum frameworks as they become available.

Through its program improvement provisions, the 1988 legislation gave new importance to measuring the performance of Chapter 1 students and schools. Under the Chapter 1 requirements for program improvement, annual gains on standardized tests became the standard for judging performance.

Assessment in Chapter 1 has been designed to report on Chapter 1 students' performance in relation to national norms at the school level, aggregated upward through the district and the state, and finally to the federal level. Yet in light of the National Education Goals and the call for national curriculum standards for *all* students, Chapter 1's reliance on national norm-referenced testing is antiquated. These tests are faulted for their emphasis on basic skills and lack of alignment with the curriculum. And the Chapter 1 standardized test requirement is limiting state efforts to reform their assessment systems. Although many states are moving ahead with their own systems for assessing students' proficiency levels at critical transition points (e.g., grades 4, 8, and

12), they are required to maintain a dual system by testing Chapter 1 students in all grades at which the program is offered.

As part of this National Assessment, the Compensatory Education Programs Office commissioned an advisory committee of national experts to examine the strengths and weaknesses of current Chapter 1 testing. The Advisory Committee on Testing in Chapter 1 has recommended a decoupling of national accountability from state and local assessment functions, the use of multiple measures for key eligibility and instructional decisions, links to state curriculum frameworks and performance standards that apply to all students, and assessment approaches tailored to students' age or grade level.

The committee recognizes that the transition to new forms of testing will take time and will need to overcome some major concerns. Current problems of reliability in scoring alternative assessments, particularly ones based on real-world projects and cumulative portfolios, demonstrate the need to move cautiously. These problems have been highlighted by a recent Rand study of scores from Vermont's innovative Portfolio Assessment System that found low agreement among teachers' ratings of students' work in mathematics and writing (Koretz, 1992).

Equity is another major concern. Assuring equity is no less a challenge to new assessments than it has been to conventional assessment (Gifford, 1989). Winfield (1991) asserts that "performance on real life tasks or events will be heavily influenced by background knowledge, exposure, and opportunity to learn specific content—most of which will reflect 'mainstream' culture" (p. 4). Although new assessments are intended for the benefit of all students, disadvantaged children may be penalized unless exposed to a rich curriculum that broadens their experience base.

Another major concern that must be addressed is the evaluation of language-minority children. The Advisory Committee finds that

many LEP students do not have the English-language skills to be appropriately assessed with written tests. Frequently, these children are not tested at all, with the result that schools are not held accountable for their performance. Chapter 1 does not require the oral language skills testing that could complement written tests to determine the extent to which LEP students are having difficulty in oral or literacy skills or both. Studies have clearly shown the link between oral language skills and reading and writing skills (De Avila, 1990).

Finally, at the preschool level, the Advisory Committee finds that age-appropriate assessments should be developed to provide parents and educators with information regarding a child's strengths and weaknesses. Available standardized tests are not valid or reliable enough to provide information on the cognitive development of preschool children.

Based in part on the Advisory Committee's work, the following options are among those possible for Chapter 1:

- Decoupling the national evaluation of Chapter 1 from evaluations at the state or local level and initiating a national evaluation strategy using samples of students from schools with different concentrations of poverty. For example, a Chapter 1 national evaluation strategy could be based on testing specific grades and types of schools using the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) or a similar exam. Studies of the effects of Chapter 1 could be modeled on the Prospects longitudinal study.

- Permitting states to assess Chapter 1 student and school outcomes by means of any test that meets scientific standards of technical quality.

- Permitting states to choose whether to hold schools accountable for improving the performance of individual students, tracked from year to year, or for improving the performance of successive groups of students at critical grade levels (e.g., comparing this year's fourth-graders with last year's).

- Modifying Chapter 1 assessments to include teacher evaluations, language dominance tests, and developmental screening as alternative procedures for use with LEP students.

- Implementing different assessment strategies for different age and grade levels, recognizing the developmental stages of children.

9. Use assistance, innovation, monitoring, and incentives to support continuous progress in all Chapter 1 schools, and provide intensive intervention in schools needing improvement.

Chapter 1's mechanisms for technical assistance, knowledge development, monitoring, and incentives could be strengthened in several ways, and stronger interventions could be brought to bear on those schools with the poorest records of performance.

The traditional roles and funding levels of state education agencies, Technical Assistance Centers (TACs), and Rural Technical Assistance Centers (RTACs) do not equip them to play a significant role in the school-by-school improvement that is desirable for Chapter 1. Although all these organizations pay visits

to individual schools, they cannot work intensively with many schools. In contrast, a successful improvement effort in one school can easily absorb 30 or more days of assistance annually (Louis & Miles, 1990).

Nor does the current system draw on the successes of local schools to share innovations and provide assistance to others. The Chapter 1 program now invests very little to encourage program innovation or to identify and disseminate effective approaches. For example, there is no systematic effort to learn from the programs that gain federal recognition in the *Sourcebook of Effective Compensatory Education Programs,* and the authorization for innovation projects has also failed to build cumulative knowledge.

Current federal and state Chapter 1 monitoring practices focus more heavily on compliance with process requirements than on program quality. This is due, in part, to limits on staff and other resources. However, outside the auspices of Chapter 1 some state education agencies are developing general-purpose monitoring systems that focus on instructional quality and incorporate considerable self-evaluation. For example, Texas is revamping its monitoring procedures (see exhibit 52); New York is pilot-testing a strategy modeled on the British Inspectorate, which allows schools to engage in their own evaluation and review of the quality of teaching and learning, followed by inspections performed by outside teams of teachers, principals, parents, and community members.

Overall, the program improvement provisions in Chapter 1 have not been a significant instrument for fundamental change. A review of more than 40 local improvement plans in a dozen states, although not a representative sample, showed that the plans were vague about what their intended objectives were and how the proposed strategies departed from existing practice. Moreover, explicit connections with broader state reforms were rare. The fact that about half of the Chapter 1 schools in program

Exhibit 52
From Compliance Monitoring to a State Quality Review Strategy

From	To
A compliance focus based on statutory/regulatory requirements	Planned state strategy emphasizing program quality, with problems in quality triggering a further compliance review
Designated state and federal monitors	Well-trained professional peers and subject area specialists from outside relevant agency
Externally imposed review	Self-evaluation, with the results used in review process
Provision of technical assistance primarily when problems are found	Provision of technical assistance before problems develop
Checklist approach	Concentrated focus on particular curricular or management areas

Source: U.S. Department of Education as adapted from Texas Education Agency, 1992.

improvement "test out" without even implementing a plan is further evidence that the current provisions do not stimulate far-reaching change.

Little extra assistance is provided to most schools undergoing program improvement; funds under the program improvement provision amount to only about $2,500 extra per school. Most of the state officials' time spent on program improvement is devoted to overseeing adherence to the provisions across all districts, rather than providing assistance in identified schools. While program improvement schools receive priority for technical assistance from the TACs, this assistance is limited by demands to serve state agencies and other Chapter 1 schools as well. To support more intensive efforts, the following options could be considered:

- Earmarking funds for states or districts to use in brokering assistance from various assistance providers (possibly including TACs, other federally funded organizations, recognized schools, teacher networks, etc.). A variant of this option would be to change the function of the Chapter 1 TACs so that they serve as brokers linking local school staff with broader networks of school innovation.

- Consolidating the federal resources that support specialized assistance providers into regional centers for general-purpose technical assistance on school improvement.

- Supporting the identification, evaluation, and recognition of promising and innovative practices through rigorous demonstrations of effectiveness involving adoption and adaptation of successful strategies in a number of sites. The intention would be to build the capacity of these sites to help others adopt promising innovations.

- Adopting a state inspectorate strategy in Chapter 1 for those schools in need of improvement that taps the expertise of exemplary teachers and administrators as monitors on a rotating basis so that monitors have recent classroom and school experience. Exhibit 52 describes how the current monitoring system would be changed to emphasize program quality.

- Working with states and districts to develop an integrated school improvement strategy focused on schools identified for improvement. A continuous improvement process, similar to that in Kentucky and South Carolina, could begin by identifying schools that are not meeting performance benchmarks and could include quality reviews, improvement plans, concentrated assistance, and sanctions.

- Offering incentives such as recognition, financial bonuses, or increased regulatory flexibility to successful programs.

- Invoking sanctions against schools that fail to show progress, including allowing parents to use Chapter 1 funds for supplemental services outside the school, employing a third-party contractor to provide Chapter 1 services at the school, or "reconstituting" schools.

10. Direct resources to the neediest communities and schools, and modify Chapter 1 formula provisions to improve accuracy.

The allocation of finite resources is a particular concern in Chapter 1, with its funds dispersed to almost all school districts and over two-thirds of all elementary schools. The Hawkins-Stafford Amendments did not substantially alter the formula distribution, so that many long-standing questions about how well the formula supports the aims of Chapter 1 remain unaddressed.

The efficiency of Chapter 1 allocations in reaching needy communities is determined for the most part by the combined effects of two formulas. The basic formula, which accounts for roughly 90 percent of the funds, disburses funds in proportion to the number of poor students in each county. The remaining 10 percent is disbursed through the concentration component, which focuses support on higher-poverty counties.

Spreading Chapter 1 resources across school systems throughout the country diffuses its potential impact. Although Chapter 1, at $6 billion, represents the largest federal elementary and secondary education program, it accounts for less than 3 percent of total elementary and secondary expenditures. With these funds spread across 71 percent of all public elementary schools, the program has a limited capacity to provide concentrated resources to the neediest schools. One-third of the low-performing children (scoring below the 35th percentile) in higher-poverty schools (above 75 percent poor) are going unserved (Abt Associates, 1993).

The accuracy of the formula is affected by the accuracy of the measures and data used to generate the formula allocations. The

poverty data used in the formula are drawn from the decennial census. Changes in the geographic distribution of low-income children over the decade produce considerable formula inaccuracies, as the interval since the last census data collection lengthens. The large shifts in allocations that occur when new data become available are disruptive and incompatible with sound program planning.

The adjustment for geographic differences in the cost of education has been the subject of considerable congressional debate. The current adjustment—state average per-pupil expenditures—has been criticized as an inaccurate cost proxy, because it tends to underestimate costs in low-income, low-expenditure states, so that those who are needier to begin with get less federal help.

Within school districts, schools become eligible for funds on the basis of poverty, but actual allocations are based on low achievement. The use of low achievement has been criticized as a disincentive for schools to improve, because they may lose funds as a consequence of raising student achievement.

Some alternatives for the Chapter 1 formula are as follows:

- Increasing the targeting of Chapter 1 funds on highest-poverty communities and schools. Several strategies are available to achieve roughly the same degree of targeting on high-poverty communities (see exhibit 53). At the county level, the three alternatives presented here were formulated with the goal of targeting half of all Chapter 1 funds to the quartile of counties with the highest poverty rates (based on the 1990 census); these counties currently have 45 percent of poor school-age children and receive 43 percent of Chapter 1 funds. Under all three alternatives, Sun Belt states gain and most northeastern and midwestern states lose funding. In each case, targeting could be

Exhibit 53
Formula Options for Increasing Targeting of High-Poverty Areas: Effects on the Distribution of Chapter 1 FY 1993 Funds Among Counties

	Counties				
	Highest Poverty Quartile[a]	Second-Highest Poverty Quartile	Second-Lowest Poverty Quartile	Lowest Poverty Quartile	Counties Containing 10 Largest Districts[b]
Poor children ages 5–17	45%	26%	19%	10%	16%
Current formula	43%	26%	20%	11%	20%
Raise Concentration Grant share to 75%	50%	31%	15%	4%	22%
Absorption formula with 6% threshold	50%	27%	18%	5%	21%
Weighted-pupil formula with 16% threshold weighting pupils below threshold by 1/2	49%	24%	17%	10%	21%

Exhibit reads: Targeting on the highest-poverty counties could be increased by raising the Concentration Grant share or by replacing Basic and Concentration Grants with an absorption formula or a weighted-pupil formula.

Note: In order to show the full impact of each formula alternative, allocations were calculated without the current 85 percent hold-harmless provision, which would phase in major redistributive effects over a number of years. Puerto Rico's allocation was held constant from FY 1992. All other current formula provisions were retained.

[a]Each poverty quartile contains roughly one-fourth of the nation's school-age children, according to the 1990 census.

[b]The 10 largest school districts and their counties are New York (Bronx, King, New York, Queens, and Richmond); Los Angeles; Chicago (Cook); Dade; Philadelphia; Houston (Harris); Detroit (Wayne); Broward; Fairfax; and Dallas.

Source: Pelavin Associates (1993).

strengthened or moderated by changing the formula parameters.

1. *Increasing the share of funds allocated through the existing Concentration Grant provision strengthens targeting by working within the existing law.* However, small increases in the Concentration Grant share (e.g., from 10 percent to 20 percent of appropriations) would have a minimal effect. To approach the 50 percent targeting goal, it would be necessary to allocate 75 percent of the funds through the Concentration Grant provision.

2. *Requiring communities to absorb the costs of serving the special needs of a certain percentage of their poor children brings about greater concentration of funds because poor counties would have a greater portion of children remaining in the formula.* This "absorption formula" could replace the current dual formula of Basic and Concentration Grants with a simpler, more strongly targeted formula by counting only those children in excess of a specified poverty rate. Under this approach, a 50 percent targeting goal could be achieved with a 6 percent absorption rate; this approach would also eliminate 103 counties (which contain 1 percent of current formula-eligible children) from the program.

3. *Allocating funds through a weighted-pupil formula that gives a larger formula weight to students in excess of a specified poverty threshold would direct a greater proportion of funding to counties with higher poverty rates while softening the extreme impact that an absorption formula would have on some counties.* No counties would

be eliminated from Chapter 1. Instead of requiring communities with low-poverty rates to *absorb all costs* of serving a certain percentage of their poor children, this approach would require them to *shoulder a greater share of the cost* for these students, thus shifting part of available funds to the neediest communities. The formula shown in exhibit 53 approaches the 50 percent targeting goal by fully counting students above a 16 percent poverty threshold (slightly below the national child poverty rate of 18 percent) and weighting students below the threshold by one-half.

Chapter 1 could also require states to use these alternative formulas in allocating funds to school districts. Special cases where high-poverty districts are located in low-poverty counties might be handled through a set-aside.

- Replacing the multistage targeting process with direct state allocations to schools. The federal government would allocate funds to states using census poverty data, and states would then allocate funds to schools in proportion to each school's number of children eligible for subsidized school lunches. Schools would be eligible for Chapter 1 if their percentage of children eligible for subsidized school lunches exceeded the state or national average.

  Serving only schools with poverty rates above the state or national poverty average would increase the number of eligible schools in high-poverty districts and reduce the number in low-poverty districts. Based on data from the Schools and Staffing Survey, 39 percent of current Chapter 1 schools would become ineligible if the state or national rate of participation in the free or reduced-price lunch program were the criterion for school eligibility. However, 32 percent of schools that are not currently

served by Chapter 1 would become eligible. Instead of serving 60 percent of all schools, Chapter 1 resources would be concentrated on the 49 percent of schools that have the highest poverty rates.

In addition to directing more funds to higher-poverty schools, this option would also permit use of more current poverty data and eliminate the disincentive that results from basing school allocations on low achievement. However, because the subsidized lunch program uses a looser poverty definition (up to 185 percent of the poverty line), this change could weaken targeting on the poorest students.

- Updating the decennial poverty counts to reflect the most current state-level information. The Census Bureau has proposed developing methods for updating state and county-level poverty estimates every two years. The first set of estimates (for 1991) are projected to become available in the fall of 1995. Although the Census Bureau's proposal is for developmental research and its ability to produce reliable county-level child poverty estimates is still uncertain, the proposal provides a promising alternative to decennial poverty counts for a relatively low cost (projected at $420,000 annually). If county-level estimates prove infeasible, the project would at least be able to provide state-level updates that capture regional shifts in the distribution of poor children.

- Permitting states to use their best available information to update poverty estimates within state, subject to federal guidelines for statistical quality.

- Allowing or requiring districts to allocate funds to schools solely on the basis of poverty. This option would permit districts to use poverty to determine both school

eligibility and to make school allocations, thereby removing the current disincentive for improving student performance. At present, a school that has a successful Chapter 1 program and reduces its number of low-performing students will find that it is penalized by losing funds. However, empirical analyses have raised questions about the accuracy of the school-lunch proxy in several districts.

- Adjusting for state differences in the cost of education by substituting a teacher salary index for the current per-pupil expenditure factor. A teacher salary index would represent an actual cost, unlike the per-pupil expenditure factor, which also captures differences in wealth and willingness to pay for education. A teacher salary index has other problems, including difficulties in factoring out differences in teacher quality, education, and experience. Thus, a salary index might still overstate cost differences among states, although to a lesser degree than the per pupil expenditure factor. Adjusting a teacher cost index for differences in degrees and experience would probably improve this option. However, the federal government does not currently compile annual state-level data on average teacher salaries, and adjusting for teacher training and experience would significantly increase the complexity of this task.

  Some critics of the current cost factor have proposed entirely eliminating it from the formula, on the grounds that it benefits high-income states at the expense of low-income states. Although it is true that income levels are generally higher in high-expenditure states, costs are also higher and the same dollar buys fewer services. Moreover, because the national poverty line does not adjust for regional differences in the cost of living, the current formula already undercounts poor children in states

where the cost of living is high. In addition, eliminating the cost factor would cause large reductions in funding (up to 21 percent) in many poor urban counties in the Northeast and Midwest. These are frequently the same areas that are already slated to lose large percentages of their funding when the 1990 census data are used for the first time in the FY 1993 allocations. Eliminating the cost factor would magnify losses to many.

Concluding Statement

This National Assessment of Chapter 1 has examined the program in the context of the needs and performance of Chapter 1 students and schools and the changed demographic and economic situation facing the United States today. Chapter 1, however, was created almost 30 years ago to address the circumstances of that time; it must be redirected to meet the needs of today's disadvantaged students and to be responsive to future reforms.

The new directions outlined in Part III of this report call for higher standards, effective supports, and better targeted funding that are interrelated and integral to reinventing Chapter 1. The evidence indicates that, without fundamental changes, the children who are Chapter 1's primary concern will be left behind in the nation's efforts to raise student achievement and to attain the National Education Goals. Chapter 1 must become a strong partner, indeed a leader, in national efforts under way to transform American education.

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Appendix A
Supplementary Volumes to The Final Report of the National Assessment of the Chapter 1 Program

These supplementary volumes, to be issued in 1993, will incorporate data from a wide variety of sources to provide in-depth consideration of various issues related to program outcomes and possible reform strategies, and will identify policy implications for the program's reauthorization.

1. **Statement of the Independent Review Panel**

   This volume presents policy recommendation from the congressionally-mandated Independent Review Panel (IRP) to the National Assessment of Chapter 1. Recommendations are based on panel deliberations, meetings of the IRP, and data from studies conducted for the National Assessment of Chapter 1.

2. **Chapter 1 Services: A Descriptive Volume**

   This volume will provide a comprehensive picture of the program, including a summary of the distribution and characteristics of Chapter 1 schools, students, and staff; the services provided by the Chapter 1 program; the outcomes

of those services; and program improvement procedures and activities across the country.

3. **Targeting, Formula, and Resource Allocation Issues: Focusing Federal Support Where the Needs are Greatest**

   This volume will address issues related to the allocation of Chapter 1 resources, including questions regarding the targeting of resources, the effects of the current allocation formula, and the effects that may result from possible changes to that formula.

4. **Whole School Reform**

   This volume will address the broad issue of school reform. It will discuss the change process in schools, recent instructional innovations, professional development needed for implementing reform efforts, and ways the Chapter 1 program can contribute to school reform.

5. **Report of the Advisory Group on Testing and Assessment in Chapter 1**

   This volume will present the findings of the Advisory Group on Testing and Assessment in Chapter 1, including a consideration of alternative assessment methods.

6. **New Federal, State, and Local Roles**

   This volume will discuss the implications that various proposed reforms would have for the roles that federal, state, and local authorities play in carrying out the Chapter 1 program and will explore the potential for a three-way partnership. It will include consideration of a possible Chapter 1 demonstration authority, the implementation of an inspectorate for monitoring Chapter 1 quality, and other governance issues.

7. **Even Start**

   This volume will present evaluation findings about the Even Start program, including descriptions of successful projects and suggestions for program improvement.

8. **Chapter 1 Services to Religious-School Students**

   This volume will present findings from a national survey and case studies to provide a picture of the services that the Chapter 1 program provides to students in private, religiously affiliated schools. Issues will include a consideration of academic quality, comparability of services, and the effect of the *Aguilar* v. *Felton* decision.

9. **Services to Migrant Children**

   This volume will describe current and proposed strategies for meeting the educational needs of migrant children. It will be based on recent studies of the Migrant Education Program, including the Descriptive Study of Migrant Education, and *Invisible Children,* the final report of the National Commission on Migrant Education.

10. **Developing a Secondary School Strategy**

    This volume will summarize current knowledge and proposed strategies for serving disadvantaged secondary school students who are at risk of school failure. It will draw on evidence provided in studies prepared for the National Assessment of Chapter 1 and relevant literature that addresses issues related to designing a national youth policy and improving the transition from school to work or further education.

11. **The Other 91 Percent**

This volume will discuss the relationship between the Chapter 1 program and the time that children spend outside of the regular school day. It will include issues such as parental involvement, community responsibility, the availability of recreational opportunities, and the use of technology to provide after-school and weekend enrichment activities, and will incorporate international comparisons.

12. **Prospects**

This volume will present nationally representative findings from Prospects, a longitudinal study (now in its second year) of the educational growth and progress of Chapter 1 students.

Appendix B
Studies Conducted for the National Assessment of Chapter 1

The National Assessment of Chapter 1 comprises a series of evaluation studies undertaken between 1989 and 1993. The following surveys and studies provide the data for this report:

- *Chapter 1 Implementation Study.* Based on an examination of district and school-level implementation of the new program requirements under the Hawkins-Stafford Amendments, this study assesses whether the program improvement provisions were an appropriate mechanism to support change at the school level. It also reports on changes in program design since 1988, compares staff qualifications of regular and Chapter 1 teachers, and looks at the types of staff development offered to instructional staff.

- *State Survey and Follow-up State Survey.* These surveys assess how states implemented the new Chapter 1 program requirements in 1989–90 and 1991–92. The reports describe how standards were set at the state level, perceptions of state staff on the necessity and burden of the new requirements, and procedures established to ensure accountability.

- *Chapter 1 Longitudinal Study.* "Prospects: The Congressionally Mandated Study of Educational Growth and Opportunity" provides student outcome data related to school programs, school poverty, school and classroom climate, and student and parent characteristics. Outcome data include standardized test scores, school grades, students' progress in school, and teacher assessment of students' progress.

- *Special Strategies.* This study provides information on the implementation of strategies that have been nominated to be exemplary for educating disadvantaged children. Student outcome data, school grades, student progress in school, classroom and school climate, and coordination with other programs in the school are described. Programs include Sizer's Coalition of Essential Schools, Adler's Paideia, Comer's School Development Program, computer-assisted instruction, Slavin's Success for All, and extended day programs.

- *Case Studies of Best Practices for Children and Youth at Risk of School Failure.* This study describes the implementation of effective strategies for instruction of children with educational disadvantage. A description of what is required to replicate these programs is also provided. Programs include HOTS, Reading Recovery, Success for All, the School Development Program, Accelerated Learning, school based management, and academies.

- *Even Start Evaluation.* Preliminary findings from 230 Even Start projects regarding the operation, implementation, and effectiveness of the Even Start Program are provided via the interim report of a three-year evaluation mandated by Congress.

- *Descriptive Study of the Chapter 1 Migrant Education Program.* This study provides a current, nationally representative description of the Migrant Education Program (MEP) with regard to the targeting of services, types of services provided, information sharing across programs, program expenditures, and program administration.

- *Study of Academic Instruction.* This intensive examination of classroom management, curriculum, and alternative instructional practices emphasizing higher-order skills identifies effective practices in elementary schools with high concentrations of disadvantaged students on the basis of observation and student outcome data. Policies and procedures at the school and district levels associated with the presence of effective practices are identified.

- *Schoolwide Project Survey.* This study of all Chapter 1 schoolwide projects operating in 1991–92 provides information on the operations and effectiveness of such projects. It looks at how Chapter 1 schools developed their schoolwide project plans, what factors influenced decisions on program design, and whether the school passed the accountability requirements. It also provides information on changes in district monitoring and technical assistance as a result of the establishment of schoolwide projects.

- *Chapter 1 Services in Secondary Schools.* This descriptive study of the design and implementation of Chapter 1 programs in 20 public middle and high schools includes 10 schools that operate dropout prevention projects.

- *Chapter 1 Services to Limited-English-Proficient (LEP) Students.* This study conducted in 14 LEAs identifies the procedures districts use to select LEP children for

Chapter 1 services and the educational services that Chapter 1 provides to this population. Information on how districts and schools pool funds across programs to serve children is provided.

- *Benefits of Preschool for Disadvantaged Children.* Surveys of schools and school districts, as well as site visits, provide information on family education programs for disadvantaged families, and transition activities for disadvantaged children between preschool and kindergarten.

- *Integration of Education and Human Services.* Two reports (one of which focuses on school-based initiatives, the other on efforts not based in schools) analyze what features seem to characterize the most promising service integration initiatives.

- *Funds Distribution Study.* This congressionally mandated study examines both the distribution of federal funds under existing allocation methods and how the distribution would change under alternative allocation methods.

- *Chapter 1 Resources: Supplementing an Equal Base?* This feasibility study examines how Chapter 1 resources are used in relation to other available federal, state, and local resources for education, especially state compensatory education program resources.

- *Chapter 1 Services to Private Sectarian School Students.* Two surveys—one to local school districts and one to headmasters of private sectarian schools—and case studies examine Chapter 1 services to private sectarian school students. Specific issues examined include targeting and participation, services offered, program

funding, administrative activities, and outcomes and achievement of private sectarian school students receiving Chapter 1 services.

- *Observational Study of Early Education Programs.* This observational study provides information on the structure of early education programs and opportunities for children to further such abilities as verbal expression, social control, and problem solving.

- *Lessons for School Reform.* This descriptive study extends the information obtained in "Best Practices" and focuses on programs with school-based management.

- *National Study of Before- and After-School Programs.* This descriptive study provides the first nationwide picture of the prevalence, structure, and features of formal programs that provide enrichment, academic instruction, recreation, and supervised care for children ages 5 to 13 before and after school, as well as on vacations and holidays.

In addition, many smaller concept papers, policy analyses, and literature reviews have been integrated into the information presented in the final report.

Appendix C
Statute Requiring a National Assessment of Chapter 1

Public Law 101-305
101st Congress

An Act

To require the Secretary of Education to conduct a comprehensive national assessment of programs carried out with assistance under chapter 1 of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

May 30, 1990
[H.R. 3910]

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

1992 National Assessment of Chapter 1 Act.
20 USC 236 note.

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "1992 National Assessment of Chapter 1 Act".

SEC. 2. NATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF PROGRAMS ASSISTED UNDER CHAPTER 1.

20 USC 2882 note.

(a) NATIONAL ASSESSMENT.—

(1) GENERAL REQUIREMENT.—The Secretary of Education, through the Deputy Under Secretary for Planning, Budget, and Evaluation and the Assistant Secretary of Educational Research and Improvement (in this section referred to as the "Assistant Secretary"), shall conduct a comprehensive national assessment of the effects of chapter 1 of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (in this section referred to as "chapter 1").

(2) INDEPENDENT REVIEW PANEL.—Such assessment shall be planned, reviewed, and conducted in consultation with an independent panel of researchers, State practitioners, local practitioners, and other appropriate individuals including individuals with a background in conducting congressionally mandated national assessments of chapter 1. The Federal Advisory Committee Act shall not apply to the establishment or operation of such panel.

(3) COORDINATION WITH AND USE OF EXISTING STUDIES.—Such assessment shall be coordinated with all related research conducted by the Secretary of Education. Nothing in this section shall be construed to limit or alter the authority of the Secretary to review other program aspects of chapter 1 not mandated by this section.

(b) CONTENTS OF ASSESSMENT.—The assessment required by subsection (a) shall include descriptions and evaluations of—

(1) the implementation of the provisions of sections 1019, 1020, 1021, and 1435 of chapter 1, including—

(A) the progress made by State educational agencies and local educational agencies in implementing such sections;

(B) procedures used by State educational agencies and local educational agencies to govern interactions between such agencies relating to the administration and coordination of the provisions of such sections;

(C) program improvements undertaken by local educational agencies and State educational agencies under such sections and the effects of such improvements on program participants with respect to the basic and more advanced skills that all children are expected to master; and

(D) major programmatic accomplishments and problems and procedural accomplishments and problems caused by the implementation of such sections;

(2) the implementation of section 1015 of chapter 1, including—

(A) the number of schoolwide projects assisted under such section;

(B) operational procedures used by the schoolwide projects assisted under such section, including an analysis of similarities and differences in procedures and programs among such projects in different States;

(C) accomplishments and problems resulting from establishing schoolwide projects;

(D) an analysis of the effectiveness of schoolwide projects as compared to other programs assisted under part A of chapter 1; and

(E) a description of uses of funds in programs assisted in the implementation of schoolwide projects;

(3) the overall operation and effectiveness of part A of chapter 1, including—

(A) program participation, particularly—

(i) allocation of funds to school sites and the factors involved in such allocation;

(ii) recipients of services delivered with assistance under such part, including limited English proficient students;

(iii) with respect to each local educational agency that receives assistance under such part (or a representative sample of such agencies for each State), the number of eligible children within the jurisdiction of such agency, the resources necessary to serve all such

eligible children, and the school attendance of participants in programs assisted under such part; and

(iv) the effect of the decennial census compiled by the Bureau of the Census in 1990 on the allocation of funding to local educational agencies, as well as counties;

(B) program services and personnel, particularly—

(i) services delivered with assistance under part A of chapter 1; and

(ii) a comparison of the background and training of teachers and staff who conduct programs assisted under part A of chapter 1 and regular classroom teachers and staff;

(C) program administration, particularly—

(i) coordination with regular classroom activities and with other programs;

(ii) the adequacy of standardized tests; and

(iii) the effectiveness of parent involvement procedures in enhancing parental collaboration with schools and parent involvement in the children's educational development;

(D) program outcomes, particularly—

(i) student achievement, as reflected by student attendance, behavior, grades, and other indicators of achievement; and

(ii) the development of curricula that provides effective instruction in basic and more advanced skills that all children are expected to master; and

(E) a national profile of the manner in which local educational agencies implement activities described in the plans included in their applications submitted to the Secretary under section 1056 of chapter 1;

(4) the implementation of section 1017 of chapter 1;

(5) the operation and effectiveness of Even Start projects carried out under part B of chapter 1; and

(6) the operation and effectiveness of programs for migratory children carried out under subpart 1 of part D of chapter 1.

(c) CONSULTATION WITH CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.—In designing and implementing the assessment required by subsection (a), the Secretary of Education shall consult with the Committee on Labor and Human Resources of the Senate and the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives.

(d) REPORTS TO CONGRESS.—

(1) GENERAL REQUIREMENTS.—The Secretary of Education shall submit to the Congress—

(A) not later than June 30, 1992, a report containing the preliminary results of the assessment required by subsection (a); and

(B) not later than December 1, 1992, a final report with respect to such assessment.

(2) LIMITATION ON DEPARTMENTAL REVIEW OF REPORTS.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of Education shall make available to the appropriate committees of

the Congress such studies, reports, and data as are submitted to the Secretary by grantees and contractors pursuant to this Act without any additions, deletions, or other modifications by the Department of Education. The Secretary of Education and the President may submit such additional studies and make such additional recommendations to the Congress with respect to chapter 1 as they may consider appropriate.

(e) RESERVATION OF AMOUNTS.—From funds appropriated for purposes of chapter 1, the Secretary of Education shall reserve for purposes of conducting the assessment required by subsection (a) a total amount of not more than $6,000,000 from funds appropriated for the fiscal years 1990, 1991, 1992, and 1993. Amounts reserved under the preceding sentence may only be expended during the period beginning on December 1, 1989, and ending on January 1, 1993.

SEC. 3. IMPACT AID.

20 USC 238.

(a) AMOUNT OF PAYMENTS.—(1) Subparagraph (A) of section 3(d)(2) of Public Law 81-874 is amended to read as follows:

"(A)(i) Except as provided in clause (ii), for any fiscal year after September 30, 1988, funds reserved to make payments under subparagraph (B) shall not exceed $25,000,000 from the funds appropriated for such fiscal year.

"(ii) In the event that the payments made under subparagraph (B) in any fiscal year are less than $25,000,000, such remaining funds as do not exceed $25,000,000 shall remain available until expended for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of subparagraph (B). Such remaining funds shall not be considered part of the funds reserved to make payments under subparagraph (B), but shall be expended if funds in excess of $25,000,000 are needed to carry out the provisions of subparagraph (B) in any fiscal year.

"(iii) If for any fiscal year the total amount of payments to be made under subparagraph (B) exceeds $25,000,000 and the funds described in clause (ii) are insufficient to make such payments, then the provisions of clause (i) shall not apply.".

20 USC 238 and note.

(2) Subparagraph (B) of section 2(b)(2) of Public Law 101-26 is hereby repealed, and Public Law 81-874 shall be applied and administered as if such subparagraph (B) (and the amendment made by such subparagraph) had not been enacted.

(b) ADJUSTMENTS FOR DECREASES IN FEDERAL ACTIVITIES.—Section 3(e) of Public Law 81-874 is amended to read as follows:

20 USC 238.

Children and youth.

State and local governments.

"(e)(1) Whenever the Secretary of Education determines that—

"(A) for any fiscal year, the number of children determined with respect to any local educational agency under subsections (a) and (b) is less than 90 percent of the number so determined with respect to such agency during the preceding fiscal year;

"(B) there has been a decrease or cessation of Federal activities within the State in which such agency is located; and

"(C) such decrease or cessation has resulted in a substantial decrease in the number of children determined under subsections (a) and (b) with respect to such agency for such fiscal year;

the amount to which such agency is entitled for such fiscal year and for any of the 3 succeeding fiscal years shall not be less than 90 percent of the payment such agency received under subsections (a) and (b) for the preceding fiscal year.

"(2) There is authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year such amount as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section, which remain available until expended. Appropriation authorization.

"(3) Expenditures pursuant to paragraph (2) shall be reported by the Secretary to the Committees on Appropriations and Education and Labor of the House of Representatives and the Committees on Appropriations and Labor and Human Resources of the Senate within 30 days of expenditure. Reports.

"(4) The Secretary shall make available to the Congress in the Department of Education's annual budget submission, the amount of funds necessary to defray the costs associated with the provisions of this subsection during the fiscal year for which the submission is made.".

(c) APPLICATION.—Section 5(a) of Public Law 81-874 (Impact Aid) (hereafter in this section referred to as "the Act") is amended to read as follows: 20 USC 240.

"(a) APPLICATIONS.—(1) Any local educational agency desiring to receive the payments to which it is entitled for any fiscal year under section 2, 3, or 4 shall submit an application therefor to the Secretary and file a copy with the State educational agency. Each such application shall be submitted in such form, and containing such information, as the Secretary may reasonably require to determine whether such agency is entitled to a payment under any of such sections and the amount of any such payment. State and local governments.

"(2) The Secretary shall establish a deadline for the receipt of applications. For each fiscal year beginning with fiscal year 1991, the Secretary shall accept an approvable application received up to 60 days after the deadline, but shall reduce the payment based on such late application by 10 percent of the amount that would otherwise be paid. The Secretary shall not accept or approve any application submitted more than 60 days after the application deadline.

"(3) Notwithstanding any other provision of law or regulation, a State educational agency that had been accepted as an applicant for funds under section 3 for fiscal years 1985, 1986, 1987 and 1988 shall be permitted to continue as an applicant under the same conditions by which it made application during such fiscal years only if such State educational agency distributes all funds received for the students for which application is being made by such State educational agency to the local educational agencies providing educational services to such students.".

(d) ADJUSTMENTS.—Section 5(c)(2) of Public Law 81-874 is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following new subparagraph: 20 USC 240.

"(C) For the purpose of determining the category under subparagraph (A) that is applicable to the local educational agency providing free public education to secondary school students residing on Hanscom Air Force Base, Massachusetts, the Secretary shall count State and local governments. Massachusetts.

children in kindergarten through grade 8 who are residing on such base as if such students are receiving a free public education from such local educational agency.".

State and local governments.
20 USC 240 note.

(e) SPECIAL RULE.—The Secretary of Education shall consider as timely filed, and shall process for payment, an application from a local educational agency that is eligible to receive the payments to which it is entitled in fiscal year 1990 under section 2 or 3 of the Act, if the Secretary receives the application by June 29, 1990, and the application is otherwise approvable.

20 USC 244.

(f) DEFINITION.—Section 403(6) of Public Law 81-874 is amended by inserting the following new sentences at the end thereof: "Such term does not include any agency or school authority that the Secretary determines, on a case-by-case basis—

"(A) was constituted or reconstituted primarily for the purpose of receiving assistance under this Act or increasing the amount of that assistance;

"(B) is not constituted or reconstituted for legitimate educational purposes; or

"(C) was previously part of a school district upon being constituted or reconstituted.

For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of section 3(a), such term includes any agency or school authority that has had an arrangement with a nonadjacent school district for the education of children of persons who reside or work on an installation of the Department of Defense for more than 25 years, but only if the Secretary determines that there is no single school district adjacent to the school district in which the installation is located that is capable of educating all such children.".

SEC. 4. BILINGUAL EDUCATION.

Awards made by the Secretary of Education to the Franklin-Northwest Supervisory Union of Vermont under the Bilingual Education Act (20 U.S.C. 3221 et seq.), in amounts of—

(1) $388,076.56 for the period of fiscal year 1984 through fiscal year 1986 (for programs of bilingual education, however characterized),

(2) $400,061.00 for the period of fiscal year 1984 through fiscal year 1986 (for programs of bilingual education, however characterized), and

(3) any expenditure of funds by the Franklin-Northwest Supervisory Union pursuant to the awards described in paragraphs (1) and (2),

shall be treated as if they were made in accordance with the provisions of the Bilingual Education Act for purposes of any claims for repayment asserted by the Secretary of Education.

SEC. 5. STUDENT LITERACY CORPS.

20 USC 1018e.

Section 146 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 146. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

"There are authorized to be appropriated to carry out the provisions of this part $10,000,000 for fiscal year 1991.".

SEC. 6. THE HEAD START ACT AND CHAPTER 1 OF TITLE I OF THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1965.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Senate finds that—

(1) one in every five children in America, some 12,600,000 youngsters under the age of 18, live in poverty;

(2) the Head Start program and programs under chapter 1 of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 are proven early education programs that offer the best opportunity to break the cycle of poverty;

(3) since 1980, spending by the Federal Government for education has decreased by 4.7 percent in real terms;

(4) $1 invested in high-quality preschool programs like Head Start and chapter 1 of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 saves $6 in lowered costs for special education, grade retention, public assistance, and crime;

(5) children who enroll in Head Start are more likely than other poor children to be literate, employed, and enrolled in postsecondary education;

(6) children who enroll in Head Start programs are less likely than other poor children to be high school dropouts, teen parents, dependent on welfare, or arrested for criminal or delinquent activity;

(7) children who enroll in programs under chapter 1 of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 experience larger increases in standardized achievement scores than comparable students who did not enroll in such programs;

(8) low funding levels for the Head Start Act limit the participation in Head Start programs to less than 20 percent of the eligible population; and

(9) low funding levels for chapter 1 of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 limit participation in programs assisted under such Act to less than 50 percent of the eligible population.

(b) SENSE OF SENATE.—It is the sense of the Senate that appropriations for the Head Start Act should be increased to fully serve the potential, eligible population under such Act by fiscal year 1994 and that appropriations for chapter 1 of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 should be increased to the authorization level of such Act by fiscal year 1994.

SEC. 7. TECHNICAL AMENDMENT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 2 of Public Law 81-874 is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following new subsection (d): 20 USC 237

"(d) The United States shall be deemed to own Federal property, for the purposes of this Act where— Gifts and property

"(1) prior to the transfer of Federal property, the United States owned Federal property meeting the requirements of subparagraphs (A), (B), and (C) of subsection (a)(1); and

"(2) the United States transfers a portion of the property referred to in paragraph (1) to another nontaxable entity, and the United States—

"(A) restricts some or any construction on such property;

"(B) requires that the property be used in perpetuity for the public purposes for which it was conveyed;

"(C) requires the grantee of the property to report to the Federal Government (or its agent) setting forth information on the use of the property;

"(D) prohibits the sale, lease assignment or other disposal of the property unless to another eligible government agency and with the approval of the Federal Government (or its agent); and

"(E) reserves to the Federal Government a right of reversion at any time the Federal Government (or its agent) deems it necessary for the national defense.".

20 USC 237 note

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall take effect on October 1, 1989.

Approved May 30, 1990.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—H.R. 3910:

HOUSE REPORTS: No. 101-404 (Comm. on Education and Labor).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 136 (1990):
Feb. 27, considered and passed House.
May 7, considered and passed Senate, amended.
May 10, House concurred in Senate amendment with an amendment.
May 14, Senate concurred in House amendment.

Appendix D
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Finally, a special thanks goes to the Independent Review Panel and its chair, Phyllis McClure. The list of panel members appears on the inside cover.

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ED/OPP93-3

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(continued from inside front cover)

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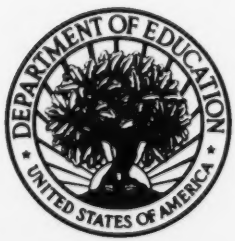
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